/33 cont./

342 There is nothing of that here. All the stone circumvallations
333 that defend the tiers of cultivation are subject to incessant revision.
In the house, on the other hand, there was nothing about
the schistose slabs arranged in straight lines that looked like a
[184] lord. The latter, farther to the S., inhabited his qaçba /casbah/
[554] of pisé. In this part of Morocco, the palace is of mud, and the
[712] shanty of stone. There is nothing more disconcerting for us than
166 the facility with which the montagnard abandons the hovel,
342 taking away only the woodwork, and sets about building elsewhere.
Hence so many scattered ruins: such old villages, with their banquettes and their walls, are abandoned. For which there are several reasons, one of which doubtlessly is moral: horror of the ruins, to which avenging forces are attached, and the other economic: this immense debauch of man power, which by its realizations, sometimes masterly, but irregular, dispenses the human action of perseverance.

621 Another idea to revise, the one that we often have of a habitat so fragmented. For the European geographer, this would be the /34/ sign of an anarchial particularism, of a failure of social structures. Now here it is just the opposite. Nothing is more closely united than these ensembles of écarts /separate parts/ or hamlets, lmud'a, flung into the valley as if by chance, and obeying only the exigencies of a capricious strategy or of mood. The Chleuh /Shluh/ city is broken up into small bits, but it is a city. It is crumbled throughout the canton. The fact is that, through the combined effect of an inhospitable milieu and the energy of the men, immense stretches of savage nature, of parks and gardens are maintained between the blocks of houses.

The Family, Viewed from the Outside

592 "What one finds, in these mountains, is the family stock in
184 accordance with The Play. The individual person is absorbed
616 into it, under the patriarchal authority of the senior one. From
village to village, these little social and political foyers confront one another in two leagues, to the measure of the whole extent of the provinces."

/34 cont./

592 616 [171] Is it a matter of the Atlas, of its "patriarchal families" and of its leff-s? Not at all, but of the Basques (1) and of the duality that put them in opposition as onacinos and gamboinos in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But let us leave this comparison, which is only a petty amusement. Let us interest ourselves in divining from facts and simple images the connections of the individual and the family in this part of the Atlas. 128 Let us acknowledge immediately that this chapter will not be conclusive: first, because at this place the goal is only to describe, without prejudging the economic and juridical analyses which alone permit prolonging the description in interpreting it. And also, and especially, because in the present state of the psychological studies on the Maghreb, one could claim here only to furnish some material for the investigations to come.

595 The Seksawa are monogamous. Presently among them there is not a hundredth of the individuals who have two or three spouses. Moreover, it is a matter of individuals out of the ordinary. A study pushed further might reveal among taqbilt-s instructive diversities concerning the role of polygamy, concerning nuptiality, and concerning the proportion of divorces. By and large the strength of the matrimonial bond asserts itself proportionately as /35/ one goes up the valley. But a contrast vigorous in other ways sets the

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1. J. Caro Baroja, Los pueblos de España /The pueblos of Spain/, Barcelona, 1946, p. 274. Cf. in Ann. hist. soc., 1951, pp. 497 sq., the review of this specialist's works. In Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II, J. Costa presents a remarkable study on the different family types in the N. of Spain, pp. 234 sq. This will not be the only time that we shall refer to Spanish documentation, not with the aim of comparison, but of geographical analogy.

/92 cont./
114 That was the object of the masterly work of /93/ R. Montagne.
It rests on a comparativism extended to the whole Moroccan
Berbère world and, locally, on the direct observations undertaken
by our first officers. Among them stand out R. Montagne him-
self, Justinard, de La Chapelle, Dupas, de Saint-Bon. Involved
in the reconnaissance which preceded, accompanied, amplified
the pacification, they were struck by the antagonism of the small
republics and the great caids. The coming-and-going from one
form to the other, they studied it in the very act and from this
disentangled historical and practical information. The incidents,
if they have varied, are not exhausted even today. Therefore it
121 is not only because it was admirably thorough, but also because
certain of these lessons remain topical that this investigation will
not be continued by our work. But it goes without saying that it
will provide it with substantial cross-checking on what I call the
stage of arrival, that is, the first quarter of the twentieth century.

175 At this time, the political life of the Seksawa was ordered
721 according to sections echeloned from downstream to upstream.
At each level stretch, a military division was on the move in
[901] conquering pushes. For some of them they only lacked luck in
order to stretch from the Haouz to the Sous, like Glawa,
Gund'afa, Mtugga.

In the high mountains, the a. H'adduyws extended their
enterprises from the Aghbar to the Idaw Mh'mud. In the middle
valley, the Idma and the Imt'ddan were ambitious for the Haut
Dwiran and the middle valley of the asif el-Mal. The a. Lh'sen
had a man of war, Caid Lmokhtar, who dominated for a time
from the a. Musa to the Iguntar. Still lower, the a. Abdella
tried their hand at the role of precursor of the plains power,
officials or conquerors: a wise conciergerie /caretaker's post/
tactic.

● 616 These individual silhouettes (1)

[121]
[113]

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1. We have studied them from the viewpoint
of the psychological documentation that they

/93 cont./

616 /footnote 1 continued/ furnish in "Vérité et
[121] Poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and Poetry from
(113) the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

move on the bicolor background of the leff-s. That is doubtlessly
[184] true then on the scale of the Atlas. Less true on that of the
Seksawa, where precisely this bipartism does not stand out with
the same regularity as in Gedmiwa, in the Nffis, or even among
the neighboring Mez'ud'a. We shall seek the reasons for such an
121 anomaly. However that may be, R. Montagne has described the
way in which the force of groups, the rise of individuals, and
[114] these great balanced symmetries interfere in this game too well
/94/ for us to enter into contemporary history following him. In
sum, we shall only ask, especially this first and so precious an
ensemble of information, to act as buffer to our own proceedings
(1).

1. And, let us emphasize it once again, to exempt this work, which does not wish by any title to be a political essay or even a study of political sociology, from developments on the present stage.

Inductions from the Present?

174 But is that indeed all that historical research can draw from
121 this?

This sinusoid of power, clearly registrable for over two
centuries, up to where does one follow its prolongation into the
past? And this social dualism, so appropriate for accounting for
the present political configurations, does it not offer an elegant
explication of older facts and, by degrees, the basic structures
[114] of the Maghreb? Some, and not the least important ones,

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley. . . .	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals. . .	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N.B. The evaluations are made in ^{c}*abra*-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

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V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

> 1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^e siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," *Hesp.*, 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the *leff*-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/218 cont./

114 themselves -- all that is suddenly lighted up by a symmetry: the 616 confrontation of two permanent principles, two "leagues," if one wishes, on the chessboard of the cantons.

This is not the place to do the history of a hypothesis: having burst forth one day from long observations, formulated to the surprised informants, they confirm it, recognize it. It instigates a rich scientific exploration. Then, popularized by its very success in the milieus of researchers and administrators, it comes back to the native after twenty years at every contact made by a new bureau chief. Henceforth, it determines experience and action to a certain extent, and acts subtly on reality.

114 [127] It was one day on the plateau of the Mzawt, overlooking Lalla Aziza on one side, Ammern on the other, that a symmetry seemed to me to emerge from a great mass of landed-property data collected here and there, as much by deliberate inquiry on the terrain as by the chance of litigations and analyses of old documents. Most of these data were from the Seksawa country. I shall apply myself to verifying them by observation of the /219/ zones which were also directly accessible to me, such as Demsira, Mtugga, Mez'ud'a, Nfifa.

121 The point of departure was the authentication of a concordance (1)

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1. This hypothesis has been advanced by us, with more or less development, in several articles: "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Old documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," 1948, R. afr., 1948; review in the Bulletin de l'Association des Géographes français, 1950, of a communication of June 3, 1950, "Structure agraire des groupes chleuhs du Haut-Atlas occidental /Agrarian structure of the Shluh groups of the western High Atlas/"; "Un glossaire notarial /A notarial glossary/," R. afr., 1950;

771 /251/ Let us not insist, however. This atmosphere has nothing particularly original. A neighboring tribe, the Mez'ud'a, presents on this social-naturist plane, if I may venture to say it, richer and in any case better organized traits. How can one not ● [616] [783] [789] see the rudiments of tribal cult in these simulated combats between antithetical groups (1): the spring lustration of the plain by "old men," *ifqiren*, the rite of April against the devastation of the crop by sparrows? The relative poverty of the Seksawa has in the end, we believe, historical reasons. Be that as it may, analysis finds among them sufficient indications to permit distinguishing the relation of mass between two categories of sacred: that which is specified in names, legends, persons, and that which remains without contours or appellation. The second one, one already has a presentiment of it, is supplied much the best. To tell the truth, it touches one whole part of the life of these rural people, the most profound part.

[173] 1. The a. Gd'id' and the a. Tddit, still today of opposed *leff*. According to their tradition, only a generation ago, it happened that pitched battles, with blows by pebbles, set in opposition two "fronts" continuous over the entire width of the plain downward from the Dir. These battles also took place between riverain Mez'ud'a and Dwiran. I shall return to the ritual life of the Mez'ud'a, which is very worthy of interest and differs profoundly from that of the Seksawa.

241 796 A concrete liaison with the ground is duplicated by a liaison with the agricultural phases according to the universal rules of the naturist rites. The opening of the campaign of irrigation, the setting of the almond trees, their fructification, that of the walnuts, the sowing, the harvest, the threshing on the threshing floors, so many moments whose social and sentimental intensity is expressed by practices of purification or of good augury.

/422 cont./

619 The title of *taqbilt* is then indistinctly borne by the ensemble
634 or its fractions. This is what, in certain respects, makes our own
administrative nomenclature lean toward the term of "confedera-
tion" for the major group. At the base, same incertitude. With-
[613] in the "third" or the "fifth," a whole layering of forms is inter-
posed between the *ikhs*, as we have restrictively defined it, and
subgroups whose solidarity becomes more and more indiscernable,
less and less plausible, invoked less and less.

To that is added the fact that the topographical breadth thus
increased brings about, because of exigencies of social measure
that are still obscure to us, but which we see by their work, the
separate cantonment of the subgroups. New persons then appear.
A relaxation of a chief's force, of the solidarity of a *jemâa*, the
success of intrigue, and a "fraction" will affirm itself as inde-
pendent. It was in this way that the *khoms* of the Idaw Merzug
[631] was sometimes distinct from the Mtugga and had its own caids, or
that the three oriental *myawat* of the Mez'ud'a, the Intelzifit, for
a time constituted a "tribe" (1).

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1. The enumerations of the Baydhâq, E. Lêvi-
Provençal, *Documents inédits d'histoire almo-
hade* /Unpublished documents of Almohade
history/, 1928, pp. 62 sq., are interesting not
only because of the /this footnote is continued
on the following page in the original source/
survivals of group names up to the present time
that they permit marking, but also, and perhaps
especially, because of the changes that have
taken place in the hierarchy and the comprehen-
sion of these names. It has justly been noted
● [616] that the names of the two famous *leff*-s, Imsifern
and Inghertit, figure, as names of "fractions," in
the list of Gedmiwa subgroups of the Almohade
period. Let us observe also that one notes Farûga
among the present Çawda or Mez'ud'a, quite dif-
ferent from the Frûga. And, moreover, this is

/423 cont./

619 634 whole, the exceptional character of this type, as rich in methodological import as it is vulnerable to circumstances, lead the analysis to envisage, by a new advance, the body of broader relations.

/424/

III. Broad Formations

The "Leff" Solidarity: Related and Concurrent Forms

• 616 121 The theory of the leff-s, the general expression of which dates back some twenty years (1),

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121 171 616 114 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930. Previously, partial observations or rough outlines of the theory in C. Devaux, Les Kebaïles du Djerjera /The Kabyle of the Djurdjura/, 1859, who gives, p. 40, a map of the çoff-s, where the famous "chessboard" is recognized. Hanoteau and Letourneux, op. laud., t. II, pp. 11 sq. In the Constantine S., the opposition of the Bu^{c}okkâz çoff to the Bengana is figured in the Aurès by a reciprocal exchange noted by the Commissaire of the Sénatus Consulte (Schaeffer Report, arch. of Aris, 20-4-1890: significant map). Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1882, p. 167, recognizes these divisions, but gives a simplistic explanation for them. In Morocco, de Foucauld, Reconnaissance, 1888, pp. 318 sq., describes, apropos Sektana and Gezzula, what is quite precisely the balance of these two leff-s, less, however, the name. This last is stated by Ed. Doutté in his very rich article on "L'organisation sociale et domestique

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/footnote 1 continued/ chez les H'âh'a /The social and domestic organization among the H'âh'a/." Afr. fr., Rens. col., 1905, p. 15. The author saw that this institution is an element of makhzanian politics. De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, mentions the play of the leff-s in Chyâd'ma, p. 421, ^{c}Abda, p. 453, etc. Aug. Bernard, quoting Doutté, shows this play being exercised in oriental Morocco, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Confines/, 1911, pp. 104 sq. But it was the privilege of R. Montagne to revive the question by plunging the study of these dualisms within the economic, juridical, and political context of the Moroccan S. and of the ensemble of Berbérie /Barbary/. His thesis is affirmed little by little in a series of monographs beginning in 1924. After Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, the only essential contribution is that of Col. Justinard apropos the Tagizzult and the Tah'ogg^{w}at of the Anti-Atlas and the Sous: "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," Arch. mar., 1933, pp. 59 sq. 76 sq.; above all he translated an important text of the eighteenth century, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940; he takes up his thesis, pp. 173 sq. Cf. c. r. /report/ by R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^{e} siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leff among the Masmouda at the beginning of the eighteenth century/," Hesp., 1941, pp. 92, 93 sq., where the theory is greatly enlarged. Since that time, the principal contributions have been the cartography of J. Dresch, 1941; the monograph by Tuder, "Anciennes divisions et alliances en pays Imerhan /Ancient divisions and alliances in Imerhan country/," in CHEAM, 1946; an account by

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121 /footnote 1 continued/ Marcy, taking up an in-
171 teresting Aurès legend, "La tribu berbère: struc-
616 ture, leffs," in CHEAM, 1941; the application
114 of the theory by Mme Dj. Jacques-Meunié, Greniers-citadelles du Maroc /Granary-citadels of Morocco/, 1951, pp. 218 sq.; and especially, in a region little known up to now, a monograph by Cauneille, "Les ligues du S. tripolitain /The leagues of the Tripolitan S./," in CHEAM.

616 resolves the Berbère /Berber/ structure of the Maghreb into bal-
121 anced dualisms, with corresponding broad zones. Would it be to make system out of necessity to emphasizè the extent to which the value of these dualisms rests in the confrontation of names, rather than in their content? This last has merit above all, if I may venture to say it, because of its very indecision. R. Montagne extends the thesis to /425/ the entire sedentary Berbère world. He shows that its applications are susceptible to variable rigor, to modalities unequally full or decadent according to the sectors. The criterion would be the density of the content, still perceptible particularly in the Anti-Atlas where the Tagizzult-Tah'ogg^{W}at opposition would recover that of two layers of peopling (1).

[114) 1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc, p. 214. This interpretation, toward which R. Montagne as well as Colonel Justinard seem to lean more and more, has not up to now been compared, I believe, with the one that Moroccan Judaism gives of its own division into "natives" and "immigrants." The comparison nevertheless should be made.

[171] In fact, these dualisms arise from a general theme. R. Montagne has pointed out examples of it in Arabia, Kurdistan, and elsewhere. In a form more or less balanced and complete, more or less alive or degraded, being inscribed in the geography, unless it

/*425 cont.*/

● 616 121 is transposed to a wholly moral plane, the "law" is observed in most of the societies (2).

> 2. Cl. Lévi-Strauss, "La politique étrangère d'une société primitive /The foreign policy of a primitive society/," *Politique étrangère*, 1949, p. 151; "Histoire et ethnologie," *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, 1949, pp. 373 sq.

It assuredly accounts for multiple Maghrebi facts, but, let us keep in mind, less in their specificity than in that they obey an almost universal dialectic. Now, what will interest us here is in what and how these formations are Maghrebi.

616 [192] One could argue that the Arabic word *leff* belongs to the local vocabulary (3),

> 3. *Les Textes arabes du Sous*, by Destaing, mention the word in the index, but it does not figure in any text. Cf., however, *Sources in.*, Port., first series, t. III, p. 199 (apropos a confederation of tribes).

if it were not found again in an incontestable document, a letter from the *amghar* Umulid, in the sense of "party," of "coalition," this itself from the Chleuh /Shluh/ word *amqqun*, from the root [571] *qq.n*, "to bind." But *amqqun* is understood here as the military [illegible] alliance, either a lasting coalition or an episodic combination in view of an expedition. The more general group-to-group relations are rendered rather by the qualification of *aitma*, "brothers." 571 616 [695] These are "fraternities," creating or verifying an imprecise, but bilateral obligation. Their force, diminishing in proportion as its field of application is extended, is locally connected with that of collective solidarities that are exercised on the occasion of plural oaths. The latter, it is true, involve in the first place the agnates.

/425 cont./

616 121 They scarcely go any further today. But formerly their exercise was vaster (4).

616 121 114 4. The essential written source is the text of the Rih'la translated by Col. Justinard. A patient semantic study would also be necessary in order to discern from the context which nuance is in question: permanent "league," or incidental "coalition." I confess that the reports on the text of the ms. of the Rih'la that I /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ possess have not entirely convinced me. The translator sometimes adds the word when it is not given in the original (tr. p. 49, ms. p. 39. Doubtful case, tr. p. 31, ms. p. 17. Id., tr. p. 118, ms. p. 92). In other cases one may doubt the interpretation (tr. pp. 76, 87, 92, ms. pp. 59, 67, 72). If one is to believe the translator, the term leff is also found in the Nafh'ât ach-Chabâb, Justinard tr., "Notes d'histoire et de littérature berbères /Notes from Berber history and literature/," Hesp., 1949, p. 331, next-to-last §. Finally, we have translated and reproduced the letter from the amghar Umulid in which this word is used, "Poésie et vérité sur les Seksawa /Poetry and Verity from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, p. 145.

616 121 and /426/ we know by a text from the Haut Seksawa (1)

1. Cf. p.

that a convention between groups could enlarge it further.

Parental, procedural, or international solidarity: these three notions, unequally used, unequally clear in the native

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● 616
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consciousness, present there some confusion of contour. It would therefore be inexact to label them under signs that are too precise: consanguinity -- pacts subscribed to -- existence of affinities; or else ancestral community -- convention -- statute. This would be to attempt to define them for the European. What observation suggests, on the contrary, is their indistinction. At the very least the continuity that prevails from one to the other. This continuity goes quite far. It can go so far as to modify the situation of the group, to form or break up what we today, groping a little, call confederations or tribes. Local tradition has recorded several of these morphological variations (2).

2. It is in this fashion that in a. Abdella, the ikhs of the a. Si Mh'and was attached to that of the a. Lkhil through a promise of sacramental assistance, and thus was able to settle in the village. The a. u Gord', of the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), not being supported by their "brothers" in a criminal affair, emigrated and came to live on the border of the plain, attaching themselves to another group. For all that, they have not lost their ritual capacity in the former habitat. During the annual feast of the saints of Aduz, it is they who inaugurate the round of visits that the whole tribe makes there. In Mez'ud'a, the a. Lh'at'ib (a. Gh'id'), for an analogous reason, seceded from their original group, the a. H'sayn, and settled in the village of Tamazirt. The a. Uchellad' left the a. Werdas and was admitted at Taz'arin. They left in their original habitat only a colony of crops. But here is a wider movement. An entire taqbilt, that of the a. Khtab, was accused of murder. Its I. Buzia brothers refusing to swear for it, it was admitted into the Mtugga.

/426 cont./

616 121 Still it seems less rich on this point than in other regions. The procedures brought into play on these occasions: berru or tberrit, "denunciation" of the original group; tighersi, "sacrifice of accession" to the new group -- have left here only a very rough souvenir. The forms are worn. But the institution has lost nothing of its affective or practical suggestions.

And the synthesis that is detected between notions such as judiciary rites, plural oaths, alliance, segregation or extension of collectivities undoubtedly restores the true atmosphere of the leff.

/427/

The Leff in Seksawa

616 It is true that the Seksawa do not offer a very rich contribution to this study (1).

[178] [184] Among them today the notion of the leff is well obliterated, in any case stripped of the sentimental suggestions that it may maintain elsewhere, in the very close Gedmiwa, for example. Its theoretical role itself, that of a balanced dualism opposing piece by piece, as on a chessboard, the taqbilt-s of one and the same ensemble, remains unperceived.

616 619 634 Everyone in Seksawa may be considered as Eghŏrti, plur. Ighertan, with the exception of the a. Lh'sen, rather vigorously Imsifem, and by this title maintaining ties with the homonymous fractions of the Mez'ud'a, their saint sidi Ah'med u Âli, and their brothers beyond Tichka, the Tigguga. But the qualification is not always clear. If the Idma are unhesitatingly of the first group, it is not the same for the a. Musa and the a. H'adduyws. The former, by general admission, have wavered between the two flags.

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1. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, p. 186, observes this asymmetry. He notes also that the Mtugga escape the leff-s, p. 193.

/427 cont./

616 Spurred on by so much-aggression, they pass for having changed
619 their colors so often that they have lost their appurtenance. It is
634 true that this is an unfortunate taqbilt, and that this trait of decadence is combined in it with the effect of other disgraces. The Idma ascribe an indefinite status to the a. H'adduyws, and they impute it to a complexity of origin, so different from their own unity. But diversity of origin has never prevented political affirmation in the Atlas. As for those concerned, if one questions the a. Tasa, of the dominant group, they confess to being Ighertan, but not without feigned or sincere reticence. The question seems to arouse in them an old and obscure controversy which one touches on only cautiously: that is to say, the foreigner will never have the last word on it.

Is the history of the recent period more conclusive? These solidarities could be of different order: ritual (thus for the liaison between the a. Lh'sen, the Tigguga, and the Mez'ud'a around sidi Ah'med u Ali (2), juridical (as perhaps in Gedmiwa, where certain procedural rates changed according to the qualification, or in Mez'ud'a, among whom the matrimonial regime, for example, diverged between a. Gd'id' and a. Td'd'it); finally and above all, political and martial. But on this last plane, which is the clearest and which has struck /428/ our observers the most, serious reservations are to be formulated as to the value of the rule. The major political power of the region, that of the Mtugga, developed, like that of the Glawa elsewhere, outside of these appurtenances. It is true that it constituted a "party" in itself alone. On the other hand, in the upper valleys themselves, a traditional hostility set the Idma against their a. H'adduyws "brothers" -- allied against them with the Imsifern a. Lh'sen. On the other side of the Atlas arête, the H'adduyws relied upon the Idaw i-yzimmer, of the opposite sign. And

2. In this sense, remarkable unpublished notes of G. Delaye concerning the Urika and the Gheghaya.

/428 cont./
616 against their Idaw Mçat't'og brothers, they succeeded in buying
619 the benevolent neutrality of the Tigguga. Lastly, gentilitial or
634 even individual variations came about, to which no discredit was attached.

The leff affinity never prevents initiative in the opposite direction. Such a state of being unattached can be attributed to decadence. But it is necessary to state that, at the single stage that may be observable, rival ambitions of individuals and families confront one another inside the canton, in paltry dispositions, but also often lasting, and which may react on the general configuration. The two qualifications thus exist, but are neither always clear nor always imperative. Above all neither ponderation nor regularity reigns between them. An entire context of personal and collective initiative modifies them. One feels that indeed factors come here to disturb what we would suppose arises from a two-part rhythm. And, a more serious thing, these are factors of different level: if some appear to us to express old collective antagonisms, and thus to orient the explanation toward the hypothesis of an organic equilibrium, others evidently arise from fantasy, from the event, from machination or from chance. All this works in diverse directions and gives the impression of an extreme contingency.

616 Are these anomalies peculiar to the Seksawa? And what should
one think about the most considerable one among them: the ab-
121 sence of declared. Imsifern in the system, if it were not in the single a. Lh'sen canton, that is, among rather recent immigrants? Why this asymmetry, contrasting with the exact bipartism of all the groups that surround the Seksawa to the W., the E., and the S.? Is it necessary to suppose that this is a trait of rupture? The ancient expulsed populations, a. Gasa on one side, Demsira colonists on the other, or the even more ancient conquered ones: a. Sh'aq, a. Umgan, a. Châib, Ih'erdach, were they in their time arranged according to the classic figure of the chessboard? Mystery.

Another explanation that comes to mind would be that the extreme vigor of the tyrannical phenomenon in Seksawa during the twentieth century with /429/ its three great conquering amghar-s

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brought about a basic perturbation. It was thus that Umulid constantly played against other Ighertan, by making common cause with the a. Lh'sen. The very chance of one of his letters shows us apropos of this, as has been seen, one use of the word leff: a valuable lexicographical cross-check, but basically a new difficulty. For either Umulid considers himself as having become Emsifðr, like the caid Mokhtar, or he uses this term in an extended sense of alliance, or of front: in a word, in a sense which vulgarizes the Algerian term çoff, which has become so essential to Franco-Mussulman life of small Algerian towns that the modern novel has made it famous.

If the dualism of the leff-s is above all a coexistence of virtualities, between which the collective, and sometimes even the individual, option is exercised, if each one these two terms themselves is exclusive neither of variety nor mutations, the problem then remains entirely one of learning why large zones are subject to it and why, on the other hand, such and such a sector escapes it. The distorting schemings of the chiefs, the degradation of the old order inherent in the rise of personal power during the twentieth century could not in any case account for the particular situation of the Seksawa. Everywhere and always in the Atlas, there has been alternation of the chefferie /military district/ and democracy. The historical and statistical inquiry, with graphic notations, that was desired in the case at hand by R. Montagne (1)

1. In his c. r. /report/ of the thesis of J. Dresch, Hesp., 1943, p. 232.

would certainly be useful for knowlege of the past of these societies. It would not provide any explanation. It would reveal the play of initiatives, being applied to conjunctures. Perhaps the bicolor background of the leff-s would come out as endowed with constancy, with a constancy in restorations, and thus linked to a certain legitimacy: thrilling research, but one does not see that it could advance the definition of the content.

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616 121 It seems then that the analysis must take other routes. Two data of observation are perhaps going to help here.

First of all, it is necessary to substitute the indigenous metaphor for the European metaphor. It is not as two opposing fronts of European nations that the man of the Atlas, with good reason, sees the leff-s. But as an option with two terms, whose most convenient image is for him that of the confrontation of two ranks of coswearers. Let us follow this indication. From the plural oath to the leff, a coefficient of spreading in space perhaps accounts for at least part of the differences between these two types of solidarity.

/430/ Secondly, if the attempts at definition of the leff-s by their content have been unfruitful up to now, and if it has been necessary, in order to explain this failure, to resort to the hypothesis of decadence, would it not be both more economical and more in keeping with objectivity to shift the emphasis from the problems of content in order to attach it to the form itself?

A Tension With Mutation of Signs

616 184 Not far from the Seksawa, toward the S.-W., another mountain group, the Idaw T'anan (1),

1. In. /unpublished/ Monographie by R. Montagne, 1927, and personal references.

has remained unacquainted with these alternations. Its ethnological tenor is strong. Its legend of founding saint, the vitality of the assemblies, the original functions falling to the imz'ran during their round of annual justice still affirm an institution plenitude, excluding any idea of caducity, not long ago. Now the leff is unknown here. Its role is assumed here by a local organization, no longer binary, but ternary. All the public life of the Idaw T'anan rests upon a division into three equivalent groups. Each of them separately may enter into outside alliances. But a lively solidarity, made up in part by these very antagonism, in part by rites, maintains a community.

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616 571 184 121 Would it be simple tautology to emphasize that if the Idaw T'anan thus escape the dualism of the leff-s, it is because of such an originality? The force of their internal rhythm, by three and not by two, has been able to keep alive among them a tension sufficient, it seems, to exclude the other formula. Let us note that in certain respects, the tripartition of the a. H'adduyws, for example, could account for analogous effects. But in this case it expresses something entirely different from an organic division. It arouses rather the idea of artificial fractionings, resulting from more or less official and deliberate simplifications, which other ensembles offer. The truth is that it is necessary to study at length the individuality of each case in order to extricate the meaning. The example of the Mtugga can be cited symmetrically to that of the Idaw T'anan. No leff-s among them either. But it this not because the course of Bwabbut' surpasses, by an adventure geographically, technically, and sentimentally superior, the mediocrity of the montagnard case? Among them, too, the system proper excludes external borrowing. The classificatory role of the leff-s is supplanted here by a broader obligation, as it was in Idaw T'anan /431/ by a shorter rhythm. It is therefore not impossible that the exception to the general bipartism that the Seksawa represent is moreover connected in their case to a certain specialty. Specialty of a history and of a tradition responsible for a very personal comportment.

Thus, when a group apparently forms an exception to the bipartism of the leff-s, it is perhaps because it is supported by a tension of another type, peculiar to it, and which may be different in each case. Such a viewpoint orients the research into the fruitful avenue of varieties of groups, so characteristic of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It also agrees with two traits of observation. First, that the dualism of the leff-s would be above all onomastic; than, that it may be replaced by classifications of another genre.

616 171 Considered from this angle, the theory of the leff-s is going to come out of the montagnard and Berbère /Berber/ isolation where it was cantoned in spite of evident and embarrassing applications that have turned up here and there in Arab countries, in the Sahara

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or on the Hauts Plateaux /High Plateaus/. Truthfully speaking, it is intelligible only in this broad, analogic context. Replaced in an area going from the Saharan socle to the littoral of the Maghreb, the facts of the Sous, of Kabylia, of the Rif are amenable to the same institutional ensemble as the relations of protection between nomads and gardeners of the oases (1),

1. Dj. Jacques-Meunié, "Les oasis des Lektaoua et des Meh'amid, institutions traditionnelles des Draoua /The Oases of the Lektaoua and of the Meh'amid, traditional institutions of the Draoua/," Hesp., 1947, p. 420.

as the herarchies between Mauretanian tribes (2),

2. In. /unpublished/ note by Ahmed Miske Ould Atiq, Hormas et Ghafers, Atar, 1935. Contribution au coutumier indigène /Contribution on native customary law/, Cercle de la Baie du Lévrier, 1931.

and as the still living dualism between Touareg /Tuareg/ "nobles" and "vassals" (3).

3. Besides the work of Foucauld, Duveyrier, H. Lhote, Les Touaregs du Hoggar /The Tuareg of the Ahaggar/, 1944, and oral references by Lieut. Berthé.

The relations between imochar and imghad have in vain affected the most precise modalities, in essence both chivalrous and fiscal; they are nonetheless irreducible to the analysis of origins, just like the Maghrebi dualisms (4).

4. The amzid is often richer, and as martial, as his suzerain, notes H. Duveyrier, Les Touaregs du Nord /The Tuareg of the North/, 1864, pp. 334 sq.

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/Footnote 4 continued./ The origin of the "dues," tiussé, is incomprehensible.

Even in the latter, any qualitative nuance is not excluded. In the Anti-Atlas, the Tah'ogg^{W}at is opposed to the Tagizzult, as what is less "chic" is to what is more so. If this already ancient notation is highly instructive, what will the comparison with the series, similarly, but more strongly dissimilated, of the Sahara be? In these last there prevails a plenitude of content, whose system seems little by little to be stripped away in proportion /432/ as it is applied to zones nearer the Mediterranean, and more signs of its dry, reasonable, and individual genius. Is not this impoverishment the ransom that must be paid, one might say, in order to be admitted into the classic culture? The antagonisms in it tend to preserve only the formal arête. At this stage the notion has little but nominal value. It is an antithesis without content. Such as we observe in the Haut Atlas, and even more in Kabylia, where it crops out in the most modern electoral debate.

A perpetual exchange appears to operate between configurations of consistency and breadth as discordant as these "balanced dualisms," the simple leagues, and the thousand regroupings of politics or of faith. Basic structures, tactics, tendency and fantasy are then inextricably mixed. Whence a constant reaction of each on the others. The morphological virtue of great style that the antithesis of the leff-s, or of the çoff-s, possesses, when it attains all its geographical breadth -- this is the case for the Haut and for the Anti-Atlas, in the same way as for the Sous; that of oriental Morocco; that of the Constantine South with the confrontation of two great familial parties -- is often broken, exploited, disguised. But it may also be revived in new kinds. The old dialectic then becomes that of electoral propagandas, and tends to be no more than that of a "right" and of a "left" to the French one (1).

1. The matter is current in the elections in Kabylia. Cf. the interesting study by Laurette,

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/footnote 1 continued/ "Aspects de la vie sociale en petite Kabylie /Aspects of the social life in Little Kabylia/, "*ESNA*, 1951, pp. 21 sq.; Jean Menaut (Aug. Berque), "Circonscriptions arabes et kabyles aux Délégations financières /Arab and Kabyle circumscriptons to the finance Delegations/," *Bulletin du Comité de l'Afrique française*, 1935, pp. 64 sq., with historical reminders. In Tunisia, two *çoff*-s are affirmed and defined in the long struggle of the bey Husayn and his nephew Ali pacha at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They are the Husaynîa and the Bachîa. The interference between the tribal antagonisms and a conjuncture of central politics from which they borrowed their names is significant, Cf. J. Despois, *La Tunisie orientale, Sahel et Basse-Steppe* /Eastern Tunisia, Sahel and Lower Steppe/, 1940, p. 208. The *çoff*, Europeanized, modernized, has become in Algeria a literary theme that runs, for example, through all the work of R. Randau.

In these movements, there is more than an evolution that destroys or restores, modifies or refreshes. There is their very possibility. It expresses a fluidity of terms, an aptitude for substitution, a facility and almost a gaiety in the exchange of territorial and moral forms, which seem characteristic of North Africa.

Examples of Variations

000 The theory of the *leff*-s, in its classic formulation, made much of evolutions of this genre. It noted that the name of such a great /433/ league is none other than that of a more limited assemblage found by a chance discovery in Almohade archeology. The inverse is also observable. Such great constellations or "races" of the Maghrebi Middle Ages have only left their name to puny tribes: thus Zenâta, Maçmûda, Ghomâra, etc.

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000 preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, çoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 182 [695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 634 578 [613] As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

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619 634 But this privilege ceases at the borders of the canton. In the Atlas itself, everything that goes beyond the narrow law of the taqbilt obeys a movement that distorts significations and contours. This movement does not require centuries in order to act, although obviously its most considerable effects appear to us today only with the passage of time. A lifetime would be sufficient to see these transformations come about. Moreover, it might be said that any Maghrebi work, in order to be efficacious, must apply to the groups a technique sui generis of the changings of definition and contour. The "tribe" becomes league. Kinship, initiation. Correlatively the individual escapes. The doubling [616] of the procedural rate, which in the Atlas marks the passage from the internal law to the external law, gives way to other relations such as the leff. But one has entered the domain of incertitude and play. The most shifting conjunctions reflect the event, the tendency, the individual or collective desires. Studied from this angle, what would the montagnard history of the Moroccan "great caids" during the first quarter of the twentieth century not reveal? 000 But we shall be content with a more decanted /Fr. décanté/ example that of the Kabylia of the maréchal Randon.

This is a nervous people, long in contact with imperialisms with broad perspectives: Spanish, Turkish. The archaism and almost permanence of the cadre contrast with the mobility of an economy dependent for much on external contributions, therefore on travel and adventure. The compartmentalization of the country is worsened by an almost urban density of the inhabitant. All of this creates an original comportment in which the heritage of old structures and the unforeseen of modern initiatives are united. Now two stable elements of the Kabyle country, those whose definition consequently thrust itself on our first observers, are the gentilitial group, takharrubt, and a primary composite, called here thaddert, because its content is absorbed, it seems, in the visual fact of the bourg contiguity. It is absorbed there with even more rigor than anything analogous in the Sous, where the social unit does not coincide with that of habitat. But beyond this, what indecision! What in Arab country corresponds to the

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*175 knowledge that they have of the past; in our time even the term
648 Masmouda is no longer understood in the Deren except by
101 scholars. In the Anti-Atlas /36/ one no longer designates by the
• [616] name of "Gezzoula" a large Berbère /Berber/ family, but simply a political party, a "leff" /alliance/ that is opposed to that of
*175 the "Souktana." The history of the Sous is now filled with the
619 struggle of social groups much weaker than in former times: they
648 are confederations, tribes, or even simple fractions of tribes, who contend for pre-eminence among themselves. New alliances
*631 are established in which the disposition of territories doubtless plays a more important role than the idea of kinship. In proportion as the conquest and appropriation of the soil by the Berbères /Berbers/ goes on, it seems that the earth itself holds back men, imprisons them within more and more confined natural frontiers; the geographical limits of the small states thus constituted break up the unity of those large, formerly homogeneous masses whose combats gave us the hidden explanation of the events of the upper Middle Ages.

619 There is thus produced a kind of reconstruction of Berbère
*631 /Berber/ society from within: minuscule social units concentrate all the political activity of the sedentary peoples, in the regions where formerly, doubtless, bonds of ethnic solidarity united over great distances the tribes in movement.

173 At the same time there is weakened little by little the
178 Berbère /Berber/ tradition, common to all the peoples of the
619 Orient, of eponymous ancestors by whom is explained the al-
*631 liance of the elements out of which are formed the large con-
*634 federations and the tribes (1);
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[113]

one can no longer imagine in our day, as in the time of Ibn

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1. Masqueray describes a similar situation in Kabylia (Formation des cités chez les sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary peoples of Algeria/, Paris, 1886, p. 102).

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619 174 be tempted to justify it by local genealogical legends. But we have said what the importance of foreign contributions was, even in the high mountains, which make the idea of community of origin illusory.

619 *634 On the other hand, it would be very difficult to concede that all the tribes are only groups of cantons within which would be found a "mother-taqbilt," having given birth to the other units by simple internal development or by conquest. Indeed, the power of expansion of a privileged group cannot overcome indefinitely the resistance that surges up from every side when it tries to advance; a small elementary state does not always keep the same warlike ardor, and causes of decline intervene to stop its growth. •[616] Besides, there are established among all the cantons systems of alliances organized so as to constitute in every region two opposed leagues whose efforts are in equilibrium; this institution, to which is given the name of "leff" and whose importance we shall soon discuss, has the consequence of limiting the expansion of overly active groups and establishing a sort of balance among all; it is doubtless owing to its conservative influence that we see exist in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ a large part of the tribes and fractions that were already there at the time of the Almohades (1).

619 171 1. This structural complexity of the tribe has already been pointed out elsewhere.

Cf. A. Bernard and Lacroix, Évolution du nomadisme en Algérie /Evolution of Nomadism in Algeria/, p. 278. "The tribes are very heterogeneous in general, containing some sedentary fractions and others nomadic, some religious fractions and others laic, some fractions in struggles against one another. It is the clan and not the tribe, as is usually said, that corresponds to the Greek γένος and the Roman gens. The tribe is formed both by the development of the familial element and by the aggregation of foreign elements." -- "It is wrong," says M. Doutté, "to

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619 century as "emigrants with the Genfisa" (2).

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2. Documents inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished documents of Almohade history/, p. 65.

were perhaps then ethnic groups driven from the plain in a body by the arrival of nomadic Berbères /Berbers/ and who were trying to live in the Atlas of the Masmouda. These units had to make a place for themselves little by little in the midst of hostile populations. When they did not succeed in obtaining a peaceful habitat and continued to suffer the opposition of the neighboring tribes, one conceives that the primitive genealogical notion forms the only durable bond among the fractions, even though the mingling of foreign families has taken all real value from it.

619 The feeling of tribal solidarity thus seems to us to be made up of somewhat confused or even contradictory notions: that of the existence of a common ancestor in a country inhabited by families who have come from the most diverse regions; that of the unity of a territory whose boundaries are not always fixed.

*634 •616 619 VII. Equilibrium of the fractions within the tribe. -- Another element of a very special kind, and whose existence ends up /162/ perplexing our minds accustomed to simple and clear definitions, often comes to be added to the preceding ones: a kind of state of equilibrium between two opposed parties, who wage a furious struggle with each other within the tribe, is frequently observed.

In the greater part of the high-mountain territory of the western Atlas, there are two great alliances into which the fractions of tribes enter separately. All the little political cells that we have described under the name of cantons get there in this way, by opposing one another or by associating with one another in following the line of valleys or of the cols, to form a kind of immense chessboard in two colors, which stretches from the col of the Bibaoun to the tribe of the Glawa. Now, the fractions or cantons that constitute the tribes are often divided between these

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*634 two "leffs" in such a way that the two parts are very exactly bal-
•616 anced. Thus the Aghbar is made up of four cantons opposed two
619 by two, the Ogdemt of five parts belonging alternately to one or
the other of the alliances. The Mzouda likewise have two groups of cantons distributed in a check pattern, between which are divided the ten "mouda^{c}" of the tribe; the Dwiran know an analogous arrangement. As paradoxical as it may appear, the distribution of the cantons into two adverse parts of the same strength then becomes a guarantee of the existence of the larger group that forms the tribe. Internal equilibrium, in spite of wars, is incessantly ensured; perhaps this balanced opposition is, moreover, still better than a central market or a venerated sanctuary, the permanent sign of unity.

619 This state of equilibrium is not peculiar to the western Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/; it would be easy to find identical examples in
184 the Anti-Atlas and the Sous, although the equilibrium of the leffs
*634 may be less rigorous and the alliances do not extend to such great
distances. Thus in the plain we see the tribe of Massat made up of 15 villages, divided into three fractions in a small oasis of the Atlantic plain. For a century incessant battles were waged between the Ida ou Mout, settled in the center, and Aghbalou united with Tassenoult, at the two extremities of the territory. Each group used to deliberate apart in periods of anarchy, had its own allies on the outside, its compendium of customary law. The tribe of Massat, whose unity has so often been broken and restored, is /163/ made up of three autonomous political groups that balance their forces (1).

1. Cf. our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924.

In the mountains, in the nearby region, the tribe of the Aït Mzal, 800 hearths strong, whose beautiful villages mark out the route of access that leads from the Saharan oases of Tamanart, Tizounin, and Aqqa to the interior plain of the Sous, is famous for the cleverness of its merchants, the size of its markets, the intelligence of its inhabitants. Apparently this is again a united

/163 cont./

619 group, subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, commanded by a
•616 single sheik and endowed with a strong internal constitution. Ex-
184 pert fractioning nevertheless permits distinguishing here four
*634 "khoms": Tinchouft, 1 Khoms n Ougadir, Tafraoutan, and Afella Wasif. Each of them is itself divided into three parts, which includes three or four villages of 20 hearths. The council of "inflas" is made up of 24 notables, six per fraction, two per third of a fraction. Formerly a great collective fortress, destroyed at the time of an expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ by Saᶜīd Gellouli, great kaid of the Haha, was the symbol of the unity of the Aït Mzal. But as soon as one tries to penetrate into the life of the tribe by means of local history, one sees that it is above all made up of the struggle that its parts waged with one another before having been subjected to a single "amghar." The Aït Oufella Wasif had their independence most often. As strong by themselves as the three inferior fractions together, they used to fight, with the help of the montagnards, their neighbors Ida Ou Ktir and Ida Ou Gnidif, against their brothers of the valley. Having constructed an agadir for their needs and constituted an autonomous little parliament as if their senate of six notables were insufficient for their political activity, they maintained in the tribe the state of division and of balanced opposition that seemed necessary for the life of the group.

Thus it is above all when the cantons that constitute the tribe can oppose one another in a lasting way in a territory of small size that this social group best becomes conscious of itself, whether to get to reconcile opposing interests submitted to the deliberations of a common assembly or to settle insoluble differences by war between two equal parties. By a strange paradox the tribes truly alive are the smallest and most exactly divided into parts of the same strength, /164/ within which war can be perpetuated without danger, such as, for example, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the tribes of the Dwiran or the Aghbar, in the plain of the Sous Massat or the Aït Mzal in the Anti-Atlas. The more numerous groups of fractions, such as the Demsira and the Ilalen, are only aggregates of parts united solely by the same

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619 name, a certain uniformity of existence in an imprecise geo-
616 graphic cadre, and the vague feeling of a common role in an
184 almost forgotten history.

*634 One might wonder whether the inorganic state in which we
find the tribes of the Moroccan South at present is primitive; it is
619 permissible to think that they had positive institutions in former
174 times, before being, as in our day, empty cadres within which
the cantons live as they like or wage war on one another, being careful only to respect a kind of equilibrium between the opposed forces. It would, in fact, be difficult to grant that such loose associations of small elementary states would have succeeded in existing indefinitely for centuries, if their members had not formerly felt united by a feeling of brotherhood much more intense than today. Blood ties, perhaps adoption rites, clearer memory of a common history, must have contributed to form these groups, which sedentary life, the organization of cantons, the mingling of families later contributed toward dissociating, without, however, succeeding in destroying them completely.

*631 VIII. Various categories of confederations. -- The nature of the confederations, made up of groups of tribes or fractions, is no easier to define than that of the tribes themselves.

These important groups may unite up to eight and ten thousand hearths, distributed over areas too large for the small states that form them always to have a very clear feeling of the unity of the common territory. It is easy to observe, moreover, that
[131] the boundaries of these higher organisms scarcely correspond to
natural frontiers, as among the Chtouka, settled both on plain and mountain, or in former times the Heskoura or Genfisa established in a rather indistinct manner on the two versants of the Atlas, so it is necessary to give up searching in the social group's bond with the soil for the explanation of these aggregates of elementary states.

*631 /165/ If one examines their structure, one can divide the
619 confederations into two classes. Some are made up of tribes,
*634 themselves divided into fractions; the Haha furnish the most

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*631 struggles and their dispersion, a particularly strong feeling of
174 their ethnic unity (1).
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1. In truth, it might be that these confederations, too, are composed of elements of diverse provenance. But an artificial bond of brotherhood, created by ceremonies of adoption or by the existence of obligations of mutual assistance, doubtless can play, among the seminomads, the same role as the feeling of community of origin.

*631 Such are the Aït ᶜAtta, the Aït Morghad, the Aït Haddido, the
[726] Aït Sokhman, the Izayan, who go to war in large masses and
seem to push forward by successive waves from the south to the
north, from the desert toward the plains of the Gharb. These
[178] confederations most often remain faithful to the custom of the
[666] "chikh /sheik/ fouqani," of the chief elected by the whole ensemble of the tribes of the same race. Such a unit contrasts to
*[634] the utmost with the state of division of the confederations of sedentary Masmouda, which we find parceled into fractions op-
•[616] posed to one another, even in the cadre of the tribes, by the play
of territorial alliances to which is given the name of leffs (2).

[113] 2. On the solidarity of the large Arab tribes, such as the Dwi Menia, compare A. Bernard, Les Confins algéro-marocains /The Algero-Moroccan Borders/, Paris, 1911, p. 96.

*631 The state of cellular division of the Masmouda groups could
174 thus be regarded as the end of a long evolution, the consequence of taking possession of the soil, of the appropriation of arable lands by groups formerly errant and primitively attached to the pastoral life. Such a hypothesis, whose weakness is obvious, appears to us, however, to merit being examined with interest; the

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/footnote 1 continued/ these units and the ones found among the sedentary populations, comparisons rigorous enough to permit one to affirm identity of structure.

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Chapter III

The Alliances of Tribes and of Cantons

I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- V. The leffs during peace -- VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. -- X. As~~pect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- XI.~~ Political role of the leffs. -- XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs. -- XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- XIV. The formation of the leffs of the Ghomara and of the Senhaja. -- XV. The Soffs of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. -- XVI. Kabylie has known leffs similar to those of the Atlas of the Masmouda. -- XVII. General hypothesis on the formation of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs.

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I. The leffs of the Haut-Atlas. Difficulties of study. -- Each of the little Berbère /Berber/ states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, which lives within the narrow boundaries of its valley while following the tradition of the ancestors, comes out of its political isolation by entering into one of the two great alliances between which the mountains are divided. Secular bonds thus unite all the "taqbilt" according to particular rules impossible to uncover, but in a way so as to form two opposed parties of equal strength, capable of sustaining their members in peace and in war. Under the name of "leff" or "soff," analogous alliances have been observed, not only among the Berbère /Berber/ tribes having preserved their

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*634 spontaneous organization, but also in a large part of the bled
•616 makhzen /region controlled by the central government/ governed
171 by the kaids. Nowhere, however, does this institution show such
importance as in the mountains of the Masmouda, between the
Bibaoun trail and the col of the Glawa. If one neglected to study
it, it would be impossible to understand the conditions in which
the evolution of the country proceeded for a century.

121 After having examined the nature of these alliances in the
616 country of the /183/ Masmouda, we shall be able to compare
171 them usefully with the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, with those of the
chain of the north of Morocco, in the Rif and the Jbel, and with
similar institutions that have been observed for a long time among
the sedentary peoples of the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura.
Perhaps it will then be possible for us to perceive, in an apparent
variety of aspects, the successive stages of the same evolution,
and thus to bring new evidence of the unity of social structure of
all sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/.

616 In spite of their vitality, the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High
177 Atlas/ cannot be studied without grave difficulties. In truth, if
they remain nearly intact around high summits, they have been
178 profoundly affected for 50 years by the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and by the substitution of personal power for the
small democracies and conservative oligarchies of former times.
*[634] Just as we often find the boundaries of the cantons and former
"taqbilt" half effaced by the new organization of the tribes, in
[619] the vicinity of the plains or in the big towns, so the memory of
the leffs is beginning to be lost in all the parts of the mountains
subject to the great kaids for two generations. Near the Dir, only
616 a few old men who still know the events of Sidi Mohammed's
177 reign can tell us their exact composition. If we go up toward the
178 summits without penetrating into the dissident regions, only the
124 grown men who took part in the combats of the "siba" of Moulay
el Hasan are reliable informants for us, for already the young
men, who have grown up in obedience to the Makhzen /makhzan/, clothed in cotton, illuminated by the light of candles,
used to the tea and to the improvements of our era, are at the

/183 cont./
•616 same time abandoning the old mountain traditions and forgetting
177 the hatreds of their fathers. It is necessary to appeal to the inhabitants
178 of the Tichka valleys still unsubjugated in order to collect
124 easily the information that interests us; in these tribes, the
children themselves know the allied or hostile "taqbilt" that surround
their canton, and for a few years longer, in the territory of
the former confederation of the Genfisa, the institution of the
leffs keeps the importance it had in former times in all the mountains
of the Masmouda.

121 Reconstituting the map of the mountain leffs is, however, a
124 job for great patience. By questioning the old men, we succeed
only in discovering the alliances of each "taqbilt," whose political
616 horizon never extends beyond the four or /184/ five cantons
*634 of the vicinity. It is thus necessary to multiply the inquiries in
all the valleys in order to get to know the distribution of the opposed
parties in the whole of the great chain. In this research our
best informants are, moreover, often the most modest. The chiefs
of tribes who know best the invaluable chessboard do not like to
unveil what they regard as the secret of their strength and of their
weakness; and when by chance they consent to talk about their
leff, one perceives that the representation of it that they make to
themselves is completely utilitarian and takes into account especially
their personal friendships and hates rather than the most reliable
traditions.

121 Moreover, in putting together all these partial inquiries, we
sometimes find contradictions whose cause is at first inexplicable.
*634 It happens, in fact, that in comparing the results collected in
616 various parts of the country one ascertains that fractions counted
128 here as belonging to the same leff are elsewhere regarded as
enemies; the correlation of the various systems of regional alliances
that we can discover fails in the whole of the chain. The
map that we can establish for these alliances of cantons thus forms
a kind of mosaic whose various parts are as if broken and do not fit
[175] together exactly. In this case, it is by calling on the history of
the tribes for three generations that one can get to resolve these
000 difficulties. Having reached this point in the investigation, one

Having reached
/184 cont./ this point in the investigation, one
121 finally comes to understand that the institution was intact before
178 the period of the development of personal power and that the
*634 transformations that have taken place since then are explained
•616 by the political action of the great chiefs.
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II. Former aspect of the leffs of the Masmouda. -- Let us
174 therefore carry ourselves back, setting aside all the recent in-
*631 formation that we could collect on the leffs, to the time when
*634 the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud were still shut up in the
narrow boundaries of a fraction or a tribe. We have said that at
616 the end of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman the kaids of the Makhzen /makhzan/, then established at the foot of the Atlas, were satisfied to exercise their command through the agency of minor amghars themselves dominated in the mountains by the policy of the leffs. Up to this period, no sign of decline had yet manifested itself in this Berbère /Berber/ institution /185/ of alliances of cantons whose state of equilibrium gave the country of the Masmouda great stability, in spite of the unrest of all these little states.

Under various names, according to the regions, two great alliances concluded among the fractions of the Atlas united all the small political units belonging to the tribes settled between the Bibaoun passage to the West and the col of Telwet to the East. In the tribes of the Seksawa, the Demsira, the Mzouda, and the Gedmiwa, the two parties were called the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern." Among the Ouzgita of the Jebel Kik, the Gheghāla, the Ourika, and the Glawa, they were the "Aīt Fademt" and "Aīt Tzeggout"; the Asif Nefis was divided into "Aīt Atman" and "Aīt Iraten." Finally, all the south versant of the great chain, between the country of the Ida ou Zal and the sources of the Sous wadi, was divided between the "Aīt Zolit" and the "Ida Ou Zeddagh." At that time and still in our day in the greater part of the country, one saw the constant alliance of the leffs of the Indghertit, Aīt Atman, Aīt Fademt, Aīt Zolit against the Imsifern, Aīt Iraten, Aīt Tzeggout, Ida ou Zeddagh. Thus it was indeed, in spite of the diversity of names, two permanent

/185 cont./
174 leagues that gradually united all the Berbère /Berber/ republics
*631 in the same friendships and the same hatreds. These alliances
*634 were given the Arabic name of "leff" or the Chleuh /Shluh/
• 616 name of "amqon" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ qqen (to attach, to bind). Compare: Destaing, Vocabulaire français berbère /French-Berber Vocabulary/, I, p. 25 (eqqen, to harness), and de Foucauld, Dict. Touareg-fr. /Tuareg-French Dictionary/, II, p. 516.

*634 The small territorial groups that entered into these systems of
616 alliance in the high mountains were isolated "taqbilt" constituted
[632] in the form that we have already studied at length; nearer the Dir,
[621] they were "khoms" or "rba^{c}," fractions of tribes having the same size as the "taqbilt" of the summits; as an exception, weaker units, "mouda^{c}" or subfractions, especially in the vicinity of the plains subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, made use of one or the other of the two leffs.

No precise rule permits one to explain a priori the mode of distribution of the two leffs.

By examining the map, drawn up after numerous investigations, one distinguishes, however, some general principles for the balance of the parties. It happens rarely, first of all, that a "taqbilt" would be entirely isolated from its allies, and the communications that it /186/ preserves with the other cantons seem to be established most often by way of the cols and the lines of crests. In the mountains two or three units belonging to the same
*634 alliance are frequently found side by side. On the contrary, the
616 big valleys or the roads that constitute natural routes of penetra-
491 tion are occupied by small opposed groups almost rigorously alter-
361 nated. The Aghbar, the Ogdemt, the Asif Nefis, the Asif el Mal, the road of the Tizi Ma^{c}cho offer particularly striking examples of these modes of distribution. Only the great mass of the Seksawa, which groups closely five cantons of the leff of the

/186 cont./

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"Indghertit," seems to furnish a derogation to the usual rules of equilibrium (1).

1. It may be that the explanation of this anomaly should be sought in the progressive development of these particularly warlike and conquering "taqbilt" (cf. p. 203 above).

Sometimes, moreover, local history shows us the repeated efforts of a canton to defeat the adverse villages established on the other side of the col. This is because control of the route of passage is especially precious, because it can augment the value of the alliances of leffs. Being able to communicate freely at any time with his "brothers" is, indeed, for the Berbère /Berber/ one of the most pressing necessities of his external policy; the small colonies that are sometimes found apparently isolated in the high valleys are always connected, by difficult roads, to stronger groups that can sustain them; there is no doubt but that this constant concern for free communications contributed toward creating the distribution of the two leffs that we observe at present in the form of cantons alternated and tied to their associates by the cols and the lines of crests.

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As a general rule it is whole "taqbilt" that enter into one or the other of the two leffs. There do exist sometimes, however, fractions that are peopled by families belonging to both parties, living in separate villages; such are the Aït Tounert of the canton of the Ida Ou Izimmer, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, or, in the region of the Sirwa, the Id Nouh. But this situation appears to be connected with the presence of former, weakened "taqbilt," absorbed by more powerful neighbors.

III. Role of the leffs among the Masmouda. -- The political chessboard of the leffs shows extreme importance for the life of the independent "taqbilt." /187/ Thanks to this arrangement of equilibrium, permanent assurance against the risks of war is thus constituted. In the tribe of the Aghbar, at the sources of the

/187 cont./

*634 •616 Nefis, we have been able to study the interplay of the leffs at the time when this part of the mountains had still preserved its independent institutions (1).

[113] 1. Cf. Hespéris, 1927, first quarter, "L'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the high valleys of the Great Atlas/."

The interplay of the alliances dominated all political life in this high-mountain region. Was a canton threatened by its neighbors after a dispute or a murder that the "moqaddems," presidents of the small assemblies of notables, would not or could not settle according to custom? Each one then appealed to its leff by making the "tamatart," alarm signal by gunshots spaced at known intervals. In a few hours the neighboring republics were assembling their warriors, who were coming to "fill" the territory of their "brothers." Most often the moqaddems of the fractions outside the discord came to hear and to settle the affair; otherwise war was ignited on all the frontiers of the little states, combats more noisy than deadly, in which each one waited, hidden behind a rock, for his enemy to show his head, and did not go back into his house until he had exhausted, without result, his supply of powder and bullets.

616 627 Sometimes, too, the leffs were a means of internal pacification. When private wars used to break out in the villages and the moqaddems were powerless to impose their authority, they had the alarm given on the hills that dominated the friendly cantons; one then saw in the twinkling of an eye 50 armed men on foot, coming from nearby valleys, descend the steep slopes, occupy the houses of the fomenters of disorder, and restore peace by force.

*634 616 571 [574] The cantons of the same leff owed one another aid and assistance in all circumstances, but those were general obligations whose cult it was important to maintain by renewing through individual alliances cordial relations with the neighboring republics. The festivals of hospitality, the "tinoubga," whose importance we

/187 cont./

*634 shall see farther on, each year rekindled the enthusiasm of all
• 616 the allies of the vicinity, and it was enough then to make the
57 "tamatart" heard in order to obtain immediate help from one's
[574] allies. In more serious circumstances, one often went to seek support /188/ at a great distance by slaughtering a cow according to the traditional rite that gives a sacred character to the request thus expressed.
[754] Another means of establishing a particularly solemn "ᶜar" /oath based on conditional curse/ was the following: several men of the country would go to ask for the support of the "taqbilt" against the common enemy before the house of the moqaddem, while virgin girls who had accompanied them made their way into all the houses of the village whose alliance was solicited. It was then necessary for all the men to take up their arms immediately and come with the suppliants and girls to the place of combat.

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726 Understood thus, this idea of brotherhood of the leffs came to correct all that the narrow patriotism of the members of the same "taqbilt" had that was too exclusive. A leff then was like a kind of nation with capricious frontiers, whose borders extended to an indefinite distance, and one still saw, it is said, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, warriors of the Jbel Kik take up arms in order to go to support combats in the mountains of the Seksawa. If the spirit of solidarity of the fractions has diminished since the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/, it has nevertheless still remained very much alive: Si el Madani Glawi could still say a few years ago to explain what a leff was, "In case of war, we see arrive among us people whom we do not know and who come to get themselves killed for us" (1).

[113] 1. Justinard, "Note sur les Lefs du Sud-Ouest marocain /Note on the Lefs of the Moroccan Southwest/," Hespéris, 1926, 4th quarter, p. 360.

[571] The leff alliance unites families and not territories. A warrior belongs to the party of the "Imsifern" or the "Indghertit,"

/188 cont./

*634 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the
•616 parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to
726 one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who
571 enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may
seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^c" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-
616 Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before
182 the recent period of political transformation, during which the
development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït
616 Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the
726

/189 cont./
*634 head of the leff of the "Imsifern" against the "Indghertit" of the
616 taqbilt of the Ind Maghous. It is presently made up of two fractions
726 belonging to the same party. All the old men of the country
still know that at the end of the eighteenth century, in the
173 time of the "great siba of seven years," marked by a redoubling
*634 of the war of the leffs in all the mountains, things did not go as
616 at present. The upper fraction, whose center is the village of
Assais, belonged to the "Imsifern"; the other, that of Ilemti, to
726 the "Indghertit." One day the "Imsifern" decided to have done
with their adversaries. Being united, they surrounded the zaouia
of Ilemti during the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, the holy
night of "destiny," and, without flinching before the sacrilege,
cut the throats of the 70 defenseless men who were found there.
Then they passed on to the villages, where they entirely exterminated
the male population and ruined the agadir, the collective
fortress of the enemy fraction. Henceforth, rid of the
"Indghertit," the "Imsifern" called for /190/ foreign families of
diverse origins, repopulated the country, and annexed the territory
*634 of the vanished fraction to their leff. Since then the two
616 fractions of this small tribe have continued to be administered
separately. They both have, moreover, a democratic constitution
and habitudes of internal discord that contrast with the
oligarchic regime of the neighboring "taqbilt." But the village
of Assais has kept political preponderance and the exclusive right
"to speak" in the assemblies.

*634 More recent events that have taken place among the Iwonsekten,
in one of the independent high valleys of the Gedmiwa,
616 are still more suggestive. This little canton of the leff of the
726 "Indghertit" clashed with a minor kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/,
Si Haddouch El Maghousi, established at Adasil, who made
an unfortunate expedition against it about 1870. After this success,
the Iwonsekten feared reprisals and intended to reinforce
their "taqbilt." Scorning the rules about the solidarity of the
leffs, they called on their neighbors of the canton of the Amesmatert,
of the "Imsifern" alliance, threatened like themselves, in
the depths of their narrow valley, by the kaids of the Ind Maghous.

/190 cont./
*634 They settled a certain number of their new friends in their vil-
•616 lages, giving them, as is the custom, provisions and livestock.
722 These strangers lived at first in peace in the "taqbilt" that had
adopted them; but soon the reaction of the nearby fractions of
the same leff against this forgetting of the rules of the alliance
became so strong that it was necessary to make them leave the
country in order to avoid war. They were quartered first in the
lower villages of the valley, in Tamsoult and Tanammert; then,
in 1899, they were definitively expelled from the canton of the
Iwonsekten.

616 V. The leffs during peace. -- The leffs are not solely sys-
574 tems of military alliances. Each year at the end of the summer
*634 there are given among neighboring "taqbilt" big feasts that con-
tribute toward maintaining the feeling of the fraternity of the
628 leffs. These are the "tinoubga" (1).

1. From the Berbère /Berber/ "anebgi": host.

About 50 warriors, armed and designated by the "moqaddem," leave the tribe in order to carry out a great circuit of hospitality among the sister republics; they take along some provisions of sugar and sheep. Their /191/ brothers of the neighboring republics, in welcoming them, tell them, after the first evening: "You have in the tribe 15 days of tinoubga, see with us what villages we shall visit." Then the feasts begin and succeed one another from hamlet to hamlet, according to the program agreed upon. Above
616 all they execute the war dance of the "Aït Tskawin" in which
574 figure about 15 young men dressed in a full tunic of white cotton
*634 and who carry on their shoulder a silver powder-horn called
628 "tiskt" (plur. teskawin). They group themselves in a circle
535 around a "reis" and execute a sort of rhythmic parade, whose fig-
ures differ very much from those of the other dances of the tribe.
The horn carried by each of the dancers is an object carefully
preserved in each family, and it is often forbidden to sell it; it

/191 cont./
616 is handed down from father to son. The "Aït Teskawin" never
574 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
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[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled
[178] people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up
582 arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased
233 valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

/192 cont./

•616 height of summer. These reasons suffice to create important
*634 exchanges: the flocks of the Seksawa descend to the plains in
311 autumn, those of the Mzouda, Dwiran, and Gedmiwa go up to-
241 ward the summits at the end of spring. But each man trusts only
his leff brothers in order to obtain protection for his property if
233 war happens to break out. This exchange movement is further
[443] accentuated by the attraction exerted on the high valleys by the
souks /sooks/ at the foot of the great chain, where the manu-
factured products that in our day have become indispensable in
616 the life of the montagnards abound. Thus the preponderant role
that the small centers of the Dir where the Makhzen /makhzan/
*634 rules as master are coming to play in the life of the most remote
cantons of the high mountains is easily explained. Through the interaction of the leffs, which governs the political and economic relations, cantons like Tisgin of the Gedmiwa, at the foot of the mountains, associated in the leff of the "Imsifern" with the Aït Tigidar of the Asif el Mal and with Adouz of the tribe of the Dwiran, are in fact seen to prosper. Likewise, among the "Indghertit," the canton of Dar Akimah, on the Asif el Mal, in the plains, is politically united with those of the Ind Maghous and Aït Haddiyous. Sometimes the same chain of alliances crosses all the Atlas and thus binds the leff of the "Imsifern" on the north versant to that of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" on the south versant, as it happens, on the high summits, by the agency of the Aït Tiksit and the Tigouga, who are united with the Igoudachen and the inhabitants of Talekjont. Besides, it is natural that the "taqbilt" of the high mountains establish their alliances and their economic relations toward one or the other of the two plains. Thus it can happen that political events that took place on the north versant of the Atlas affect, by the chain of leffs, rather slightly, it is true, the life of the fractions on the south versant.

*631 We shall tell later how these plains arrival-points of the
*634 mountain leffs have been chosen by chiefs who are independent or
allied with the Makhzen /makhzan/ in order to exercise political
616 action on the distant cantons. The consequence of their efforts,
[178] however, has often been the weakening of the ancient institution

/192 cont./

*631 of Berbère /Berber/ alliances; /193/ but the latter are still intact
*634 enough for one to find still in our day, on the south versant of
•616 the Atlas, the commands of minor sheiks and their zones of in-
[178] fluence tangled together in a form that can be explained only by the distribution of the cantons between the two leffs. Thus the amghar of Talekjont talks with his mountain brothers, Imedlaoun, Tigouga, Igoudachen, while his rival from Talemt sees descending into his casbah the warriors of the Ida ou Kwais, Aggounsan,
[578] Ida ou Msattog. Each minor chief tries to increase his authority by stirring up discord and protecting the stronger ones. In every circumstance he defends and supports his leff brothers against the neighbors, and the reciprocal hate of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and the "Aït Zolit" is thus concentrated and symbolized in the struggle of the two houses of Talemt and Talekjont at the foot of the Dir.

616 VI. Geographical boundaries of the leffs of the Masmouda.
619 -- When this system of alliances, into which all the mountain
cantons formerly entered, still had all its force, the boundaries
131 of the leffs of the Masmouda appeared more easily than in our day. They were very precise and nearly always marked by natural geographic frontiers. To the West, the "Indghertit" and the "Imsifern" did not overstep the Makhzen route that traverses the Atlas from Imi n Tanout to the Tizi Ma^{c}cho. The Mtougga, Haha (1), and Ida Ou Tanan, as far as we can go back into the history of their internal wars, seem to have escaped the influence of these two great alliances (2).

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1. The Haha in their totality make use of the "leff" of the Igezzoulen of the Anti-Atlas.

2. Doutté has described among the Haha (Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905,

616 619 131 /193 cont./

> /footnote 2 continued/ renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 15) leffs that are mere temporary associations of tribes or fractions of tribes, such as one sees in all the bled el Makhzen /region under the control of the central government/.

The relations of proximity sometimes barely led the eastern "khoms" or "afous" of these coastal tribes to enter into one of the two leffs of the Masmouda by means of temporary alliances contracted with the Demsira and the Ida ou Mahmoud. Likewise on the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, the Ida Ou Zal, Ergita, Mentaga, whose social life is nevertheless analogous to that of the high-mountain tribes, have not kept a precise memory of the institution of the leffs during the last century in the form that we have described; it is above all because of their present-day friendships with some /194/ or others of the neighboring fractions that they place themselves now in the party of the "Aït Zolit" or of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh."

The eastern boundary of the chessboard of the leffs is no less evident in the central Haut-Atlas. Beyond the territory of the Glawa, the great permanent alliances of the Masmouda do not come to merge into the more fragile associations that bind together the fractions of tribes of the Imeghran, Ghojdama, and Fetwaka, even when one tries to go back, to find again the trace of ancient alliances, to the most remote period of which tradition keeps any memory.

616 619 131 648 It is not without interest to observe, on the one hand, that the Makhzen's two great penetration routes of the Tizi Maᶜcho and of the col of Telwet thus serve as frontier for the ancient leffs and that, on the other hand, the region of the Haha, to the West, and that of the former confederation of the Skourra, to the East, which form the boundary of this state of political division have withstood, because of the invasion of the Arabs from the desert and the Atlantic plains, collision with the most varied tribes for

616 619 648 [131] /194 cont./
long centuries. One easily understands that this situation may have been able to contribute toward making the balanced opposition of the two leffs disappear here.

By their traditional policy, the Arab or Arabized tribes of the interior plain of the Sous, Howara, Menabha, and Oulad Yahya, do not enter into the interaction of the mountain leffs. They thus form a kind of screen that isolates the Atlas of the Masmouda from the Anti-Atlas of the Igezzoulen. On the contrary, at the extremity of the Sous plain, the alliances of fractions gain by degrees the massif of the Sirwa and reach as far as the Dra, the Warzazat, and the Dadès (1).

> 1. The leffs of the Dades and of the upper Dra, Oulad el Mahalli and Beni Zouli, have nearly the same aspect as those of the Masmouda (De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 288-289).

The Arab tribes of the edge of the desert, in the middle course of the Dra, also rally there, but in larger masses, and their inconstancy makes them unreliable auxiliaries. On the contrary, on [726] the south versant of the Atlas, less than ten years ago, for example in the tribe of the Souktana, since conquered by the Glawa, the violence of the leff combats was still so great that 120 warriors of the leff of the "Igezzoulen" surrounded in the agadir of Ighri and forced by thirst to surrender to their hereditary enemies, the "Isouktan," were slaughtered by their adversaries like sheep.

616 174 /195/ VII. Liaison between the leffs of the Masmouda and those of the Anti-Atlas. -- It is by way of this region of the Zagmouzen and the Souktana that the liaison of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ with those of the Anti-Atlas seems to be made. But in this country it is no longer possible to reconstitute, even at the cost of patient historical investigations, a satisfactory picture of correspondence among the various local alliances so as to find, as we did elsewhere, two opposed parties under various

/195 cont./

616 174 names. In the Onein one indeed observes the struggle of the "Aït Ikhlef" and the "Aït Qodni," still tied to the "Ida ou Zeddagh" and "Aït Zolit." But among the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa we find three groups of two leffs: the "Aït Atman," enemies of the "Aït Tintlet" in the Tifnout; the "Inemzel" opposed to the "Aït Iraten" to the east of the Sirwa; more to the South and toward the limit of the desert, the "Igezzoulen," hereditary adversaries of the "Isouktan." The natives here still indeed believe in the unity of two great alliances, but in comparing their information collected in the various cantons, we find irreducible contradictions.

It may be that this break in the patchwork of the two primitive leffs is not unrelated to the disturbing activity carried out because of the rivalries of minor chiefs anciently subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, and whose casbahs are found on the route of passage that joins Taroudant to the col of the Glawa in passing by way of the Ihouziyoun, the Zagmouzen, Tazenakht, and the Haut-Dra (1).

1. We shall see farther on (Book III, Ch. I and II) how the policy of the amghars rapidly resulted in the dissociation of the leffs.

One can also believe that, in this region of transition, liaison is not perfectly established between the leffs of the Haut-Atlas and those of the Anti-Atlas, because the struggle of the "Igezzoulen" and their "Isouktan" or "Aoggwa" adversaries does not assume the same form as that of the two leagues of the Masmouda. However 616 926 that may be, the weakening of the institution is not such that, in the attempt to conquer the Souktana by Si Tayeb Gontafi in 1902, this chief did not remember the alliance of the "Aït Iraten," his native leff, with that of the "Igezzoulen" and did not succeed in protecting his leff brothers in the Anti-Atlas. The policy of the Glawa in the north of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa was able just as cleverly to take advantage of the ancient traditions that bound their leff, that of the "Aït Fademt" of the north versant of the Atlas, to the "Inemzel" of the Saharan versant.

571 *634 613 /196/ VIII. The soff, alliance of families. -- The little states of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, like all the Berbère /Berber/ communities, know a form of division other than that of the leffs: the one that results from the rivalry, warlike or pacific, of the "ikhs" or family groups within a canton (1).

•[616] 1. Sometimes, in the regions subject to the Makhzen /makhzan/, the name of "soff" is given to the institution that we have described here under the name of "leff" or "amqon." We shall distinguish the two terms here and shall reserve the word "soff" to designate exclusively the alliance of families.

571 *634 While in most cases the "taqbilt" or cantons enter by whole units into the alliance of the leffs, there almost always exists in each of them two or several parties, often supported by foreigners, and whose discords disturb a whole part of the mountain on the slightest pretext. But these associations, which do not have, like the leffs, any territorial base, are much less stable. They unite only for a few years families interested in the defense or conquest of power or those who are constrained to form a party hastily in order to avenge the dead or to assassinate an overly powerful enemy. The Berbères /Berbers/, with the usual imprecision of their language, also give these private alliances the name of [171] "amqon." In order to distinguish them from the leffs, we shall give them the name of "soff," utilizing the word that designates similar associations of families in Kabylie /Kabylia/; besides, their importance is such in the Djurjura that they seem to have made the leffs of former times disappear (2).

2. See farther on, p. 289.

Among the Masmouda the "soff" never extends beyond the territory of a few cantons. It remains a private institution, whose [616] nature opposes to a certain degree the institutions of the "taqbilt," [578] whose unity it threatens; there is not recognized for it, as in

/196 cont./

571 Kabylie /Kabylia/, any official existence, and we have seen that
*634 it was not rare to see the leff, represented by the warriors of the
•616 allied cantons of the vicinity, intervene in internal discords, in
578 order to impose peace on the families engaged in overly passionate soff disputes.

616 IX. Research on the origin of the leffs of the Haut-Atlas. --
174 When one looks for the causes that could have produced the institution of the leffs, which, as we have seen, goes beyond the cadre of the political life in order to embrace at the same time the greater part of the commercial and /197/ economic activity of the small Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, one is first tempted to explain this state of division by ethnic reasons; one willingly imagines that this organization represents, for example, the survival of the state of war between the autochthons and the invaders, belonging respectively to two great opposed families. What may suggest this explanation is the very name that in other regions is taken by the great leffs whose aspect we shall describe: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" in the Anti-Atlas, the "Senhaja" and the "Ghomara" in the north of Morocco. As a matter of fact, they were originally large Berbère /Berber/ families who were occupying the country in historic times or who came to invade it, disputing between them the possession of the soil.

It is very easy, however, to convince oneself that in the Haut-Atlas, in this region where the leffs have precisely preserved up to these last years a great vitality, this hypothesis cannot by itself alone explain the present state of the institution. The diversity of the families that form the "taqbilt," the progressive renewing of the elements that constitute the tribes by the rise or the disappearance of the fractions of which they are made up, the ethnic stability of a region that for ten centuries does not seem to have known any important changes in the way of invasion or conquest, are so many reasons that oppose an explanation of the leffs, as they are constituted in our day, by the constant struggle between two opposed races. Besides, one would not find in the information that we are given by the historians or geographers

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/197 cont./

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on this region from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries any argument in favor of the presence of two large enemy families, traditionally hostile and whose struggles could have resulted in the inextricable confusion of today (1).

[601]

1. It is true that the Berbères /Berbers/ designated their leff brothers by the term "Aītmas," the "sons of the same mother." But in matters concerning social ties the language is not very precise and does not come to distinguish by a special name the fraction of the tribe, the leff of /sic/ the soff. Thus it is impossible to maintain this argument. What is more, this brotherhood is not conceived as the result of a true relationship, but rather as a sort of pact of perpetual alliance. The term of "Aītmas," moreover, also designates the brothers of one family, the members of one canton, of one tribe, of one confederation, as the case may be.

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One may also call on a geographic explanation by appealing to the existence of natural compartments in the high valleys of the Atlas and which would have formed like alveoli in /198/ which the small Berbère /Berber/ communities would have settled one after the other. The permanent state of war, which would have put these independent states in opposition, would have spontaneously resulted in the constitution of systems of alliances established by taking into consideration above all the existence of the paths of communication by the lines of crests or by the cols. The distribution of the two leffs would then be like an almost direct consequence of the disposition of the relief.

Whatever the worth of these considerations may be in certain parts of the high mountains and although the existence of means of communication between friendly "taqbilt" is a necessity, it is impossible to be content with this simple observation and especially to give it general value.

/198 cont./

*634 The frontiers of these small states are not actually always de-
•616 termined by geographic accidents; often they run capriciously on
174 the fertile plateaus, in the irrigated valleys, project in a point
131 without apparent reason, and seem to us to be much oftener the limits of expansion of the small groups of families that constitute the "taqbilt" rather than the natural barriers that contain them. Moreover, we can verify the same balanced distribution of the
[361] two leffs on the steep slopes of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ among the Ida ou Zeddagh and the Aït Semmeg; here, however, no geographic division appears to us any more to separate from one another these groups of hamlets established on the inclined flank of the mountain or in the vicinity of springs. It is the same in the region of the Sirwa and the plateaus of the Azilal of the Aït Waouzgit, where the villages press around streamlets of water that have escaped from the volcanic plateau and are separated by immense desert spaces, the same again on the plateau of the Souktana, bereft of natural internal frontiers suitable for separating the "taqbilt." Nevertheless the tribes in these regions are divided into fractions united in two chains of alliances whose appearance is identical with the leffs of the Gedmiwa of the high mountains.

Finally, as we have seen, the divison of the country into opposed cantons, regularly alternated, is still more marked on the passage of the great natural routes of communication and of the valleys such as the Asif Nefis, the Zagmouzen, the Tifnout, as if the absence of geographic boundaries between the Berbère /Berber/ communities had, on the contrary, the effect of reinforcing their respective oppositions and of /199/ distributing the small states in a still more perfect manner between two balanced leffs (1).

[312]
[578]

1. Under the circumstances, one could invoke for the irrigated valleys the discords that the use of the water usually entails (compare our study on Massat, Hespéris, 1924, p. 362). It might be that the very frequent disputes that arise from the use of the séguias may have

/199 cont./

*634 /footnote 1 continued/ played an important
•616 role in the formation of the alliances, for the
174 region of the middle or lower course of the
131 wadis. This argument, however, is worthless
[312] in the high mountains where irrigation prob-
[578] lems are unimportant and easy to solve.

History and ethnography throw only very feeble light on the
*634 origins of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances of the Haut-Atlas /High
616 Atlas/. One will not be surprised that this institution has never
578 been, in spite of its importance, described by scholars. Ibn
174 Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/ scarcely tells us, while reporting the
619 struggles that set the chiefs of the Gedmiwa, of the Seksawa, and
of the Hintata against one another in the fourteenth century, that
it was only a matter of wars brought on "by the ordinary causes
that introduce discord between neighboring tribes, namely: the
proximity of their territories and the memory of their former
disputes" (2).

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.

This is enough for one to suppose that it is a matter of struggles between leffs, but we should like to find some more precise information from the pen of the only historian who would have liked to make known the life of the Berbères /Berbers/.

175 Nevertheless, El Beidaq, in his valuable list of the Almohade
*634 fractions at the time of the Mahdi (3),
619

3. El Beidaq, Documents inédits d'Histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 63.

gives us some interesting information. The Gedmiwa, he tells us,
include 46 fractions: the Aït Yalmazdog -- vanished today, then
the "Banou Masifra," "who pass in review first"; next, the "Inad
[616] Ghertit," "who are mountain Gedmiwa." Thus we see figuring in

/199 cont./

175 the first rank of this confederation the two fractions that have
*634 given their name to the two great leffs of this region, the
619 "Imsifem" and the "Indghertit." Likewise, at the beginning of
•616 the list of the Genfisa fractions figures the name of the "Ida ou Zeddagh," which is still that of one of the large leffs of the south versant of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ (4).

4. In the official classification of the tribes of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the Ida ou Zeddagh in our day represent, not a leff, but a tribe formed by the ensemble of fractions included among the Ida Ou Zal and the Aït Semmeg. But in the country itself the Ida Ou Zeddagh designate only a leff, opposed to the one of the Aït Zolit.

The name of the leff of the Aït Zolit is to be compared with the name of Beni Zouli, one of the leffs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ and of Tinzoulin, district of the Moyen-Dra /Middle Dra/. The name of the leff of the Inemzel, among the Aït Waouzgit, is to be compared with that of the fraction of the Inemzal pointed out in the time of the Almohades. El Beidaq, Docum. inédits d'histoire almohade /Unpublished Documents of Almohade History/, p. 62. The leffs of the Aït Fademt and Aït Tzegout are also given by El Beidaq as those of former fractions.

174 /200/ Perhaps it is possible to go further and suggest, by way
*634 of a hypothesis, some comparisons. It is doubtless not without
619 reason that the organizers of the little kingdom of the Masmouda
554 of Tinmel had given such importance to the hierarchical classification of the fractions in which the order and the place of each one were minutely arranged, for battle as well as for dividing the booty. In this way the formalistic tendencies and the taste for ceremony among these mountain populations, so attached besides

/200 cont./
174 to their anarchical constitutions, are respected and utilized. One
*634 still sees at present in the same regions the most important acts
619 of social life executed by following an anciently established cus-
554 tom that carefully fixes the precedence and the respective order
[178] of the fractions and tribes. Among the Ida Ou Tanan, the great circuits of justice carried out by the notables are made, as we have seen, in a rigorously determined order, they always begin with the territory of the fraction that must take precedence in combat and whose warriors are regarded as the "inflas" of the country. They are actually "porte-bonheur" /bearers of good luck/ who must be the first to undertake any difficult or important action whose success is bound up with the good order and the prosperity of the tribe (1).

1. Cf. our study on the Ida Ou Tanan, Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 237.

[184] The same tradition has been observed among the Haha, where
*[631] there exist privileged groups destined to be at the head of the
tribes and of the confederation in all circumstances; they are the ones who begin the fantasias and go into combat first (2);

[113] 2. Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905. Renseignements coloniaux /Colonial Information/, No. 1, p. 11.

in the south of this territory they are given the name of "inflas n tsehil," that is, porte-bonheur charged with "facilitating" the ac-
*[631] complishment of any important action. In the internal struggles
[726] of this large confederation it is the "inflas" of the tribe of the
Imgrad who often decide the outcome of combats by retarding or
• [616] precipitating the attack as they please. One could then suppose

/200 cont./
174 that the social groups that have given their name to the moun-
*634 tain leffs have sometimes been those who, by their magic
619 "baraka," prevailed in decisions or "facilitated" success in
554 war by their simple intervention. At other times, too, with-
•616 out doubt it is the most active ones who have prevailed and have drawn the nearby republics into their alliance; they then had, through /map appears here/ /201/ their strength, "the right to speak," and their name would thus have become synonymous with a permanent alliance among all the "taqbilt" that they protected.

174 Truly, in the absence of any precise historical information
616 about the ancient rivalries of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas
619 /High Atlas/, it seems to us impossible for the moment to ex-
plain by a single cause the present distribution of the leffs of the Masmouda. Stabilized by centuries of internal wars, in a
[178] country screened from exterior influences, the leffs doubtless
[179] have taken their current form under the influence of the most diverse factors; but their current aspect no longer permits discovering their distant origin. Examination and comparison of the territorial alliances among the tribes in the Anti-Atlas, the country of the Jbala and of the Rif or in the Kabylie /Kabylia/ of the Djurjura will permit us to imagine how this state of division could represent the end of a long evolution whose initial cause must doubtless, in the silence of history, remain hidden from us forever.

616 X. Aspect of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The first Ber-
114 bère /Berber/ leffs that had been studied in Morocco were those of the Anti-Atlas: the "Igezzoulen" and the "Isouktan" pointed out by Ch. de Foucauld. Nevertheless, they still remain quite poorly known. It is not possible, in the absence of sufficient monographic studies on the tribes of the Anti-
*[634] Atlas, to compare these leffs, with all the precision desirable,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 265]

/Left side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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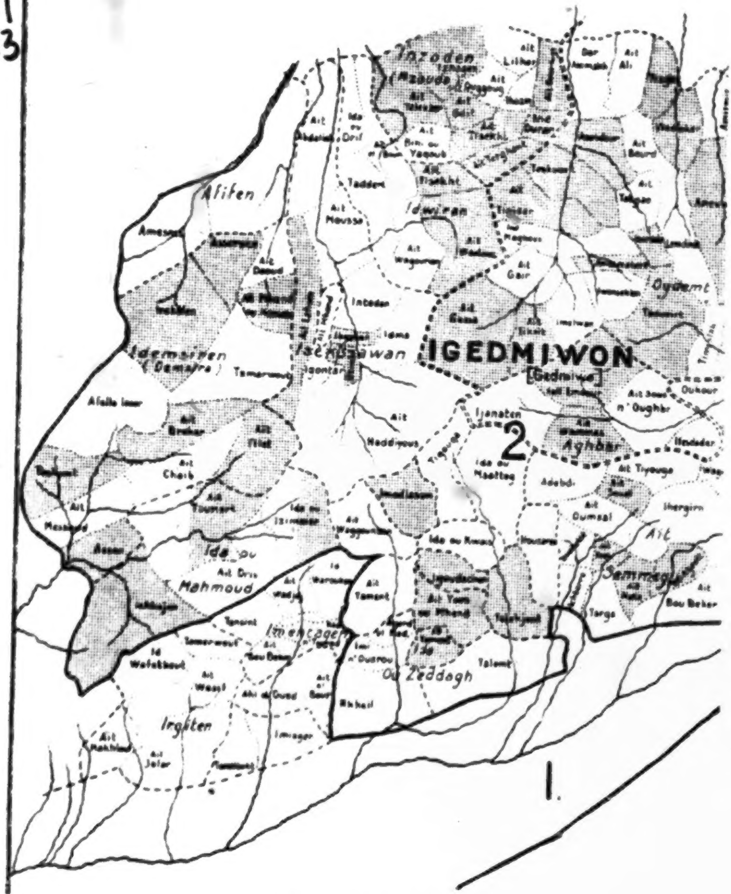
Inzoden
(Mzouda)
Alifen
Idwiran
Idemsiren
(Demsira)
Isemsawan
IGEDMIWON
[Gedmiwa]
Ouzemt
Aghbar
2
Ide ou Mahmoud
Imercagen
Ou Zeddagh
Irghiten
Ait Semmeg
1.

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, the Sirwa, and the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

/see next page for explanation of boxes/

102
•616
619
131
133

/Explanation for map facing p. 200 in the original source/

Aspect of the leffs
in a part of the Haut Atlas, of the Sirwa, and of the Anti Atlas

Scale 1/600,000

Zone	Region					
Zone 1.	Region peopled by Arab tribes who do not have stable leffs					
Zone 2.	Region of the leffs of the western Atlas	Ait Atman	Indghertit	Ait Fademt	Ait Zolit	□
		Ait Iraten	Imsifern	Ait Tzeggout	Ida ou Zeddagh	▨
		(Asif Nefis)	(Seksawa, Gedmiwa)	(Ouzgita of the Kik, Gheghaya, Ourika)	(So. versant of the Haut Atlas)	
Zone 3.	Region of the leffs of the Ait Waouzgit and of the Glaoua	Inemzel				▨
		Ait Iraten				□
Zone 4.	Region of the leffs of the Anti Atlas	Isouktan				▨
		Igezzoulen				□
Zone 5.	Region of the leffs of the Tifnout and of the Azilal (Ait Waouzgit)	Ait Atman				▨
		Ait Tintlet				□

2: Montagne--263 E-5 (c.1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

/Center part of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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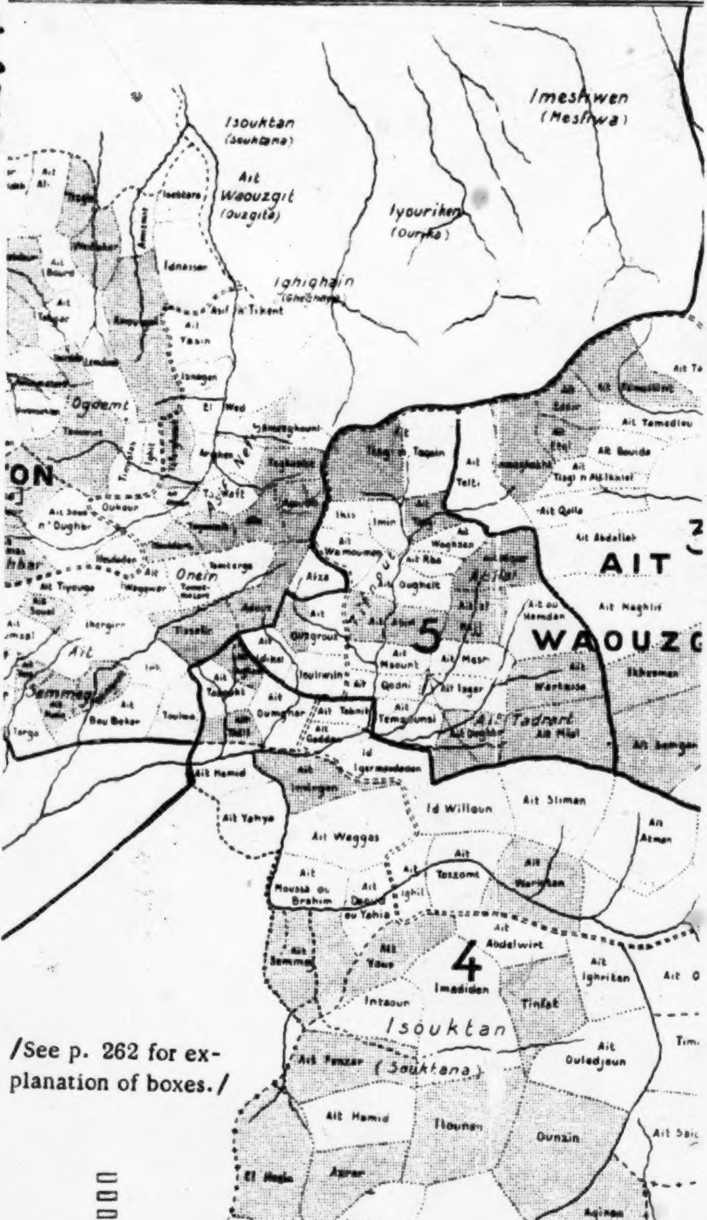
Imeshwen
(Mesfiwa)
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Ait Waouzgit
(Ouzgita)
Iyouriken
(Ourika)
Ighighain
(Ghighaia)
Ogdemt
Onein
Ait Semmeg
AIT
WAOUZG
5
4
Isouktan
(Souktana)
Idnasser
Ait Yasin
El Wad
Ait Tedrart
Id Willoun
Ait Sliman
Ait Waggas
Ait Moussa ou Brahim
Ait Daoud ou Yahia
Ait Tezzomt
Ait Abdelwirt
Imadiden
Intaoun
Tinfat
Ait Ighriten
Ait Ouledjoun
Ait Fenzar
Ait Hamid
Tiounen
Ounzin
El Maila
Azrar
Iseazen
Ighghediyeu
Aginan
Imgharbiyn
Ait Yahya
Ait Hamid
Ait Atmen
Ait Semmeg
Ait Tamedlou
Ait Qolla
Ait Abdellah
Ait Maghlif
Ait Imin
Ait Telti
Ait Bou Bekar
Ait Tiyouga
Ait Daoud n'Dougher

/See p. 262 for explanation of boxes./

2: Montagne--264 E-5 (c. 1921-1928) 1930 MW11 Shluh MW11

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/Right side of map facing p. 200 in the original source/

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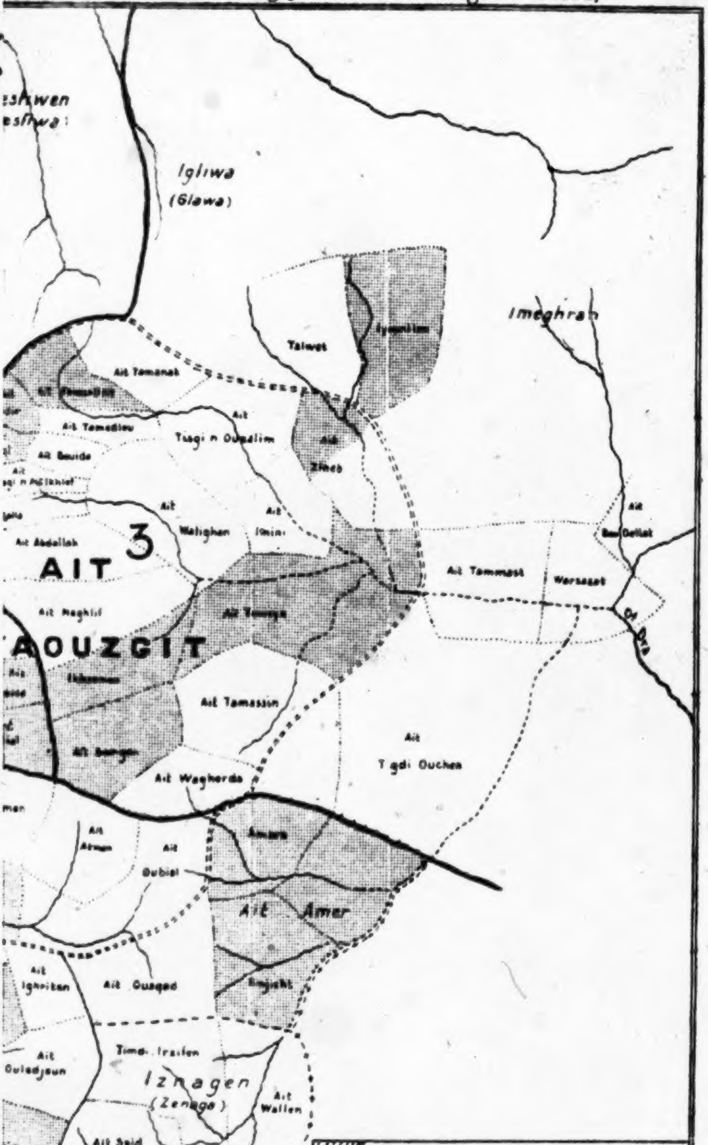
eshwen
esfiwa
Igliwa
(Glawa)
Imeghran
Iysmlim
Talwat
Ait Tamanat
Ait Tamedlou
Ait Tsagi n Oumdlim
Ait Zineb
Ait Bouide
Ait Weligham
Ait Imini
Ait Abdallah
AIT
3
Ait Bou Oulliat
Ait Tammast
Warzazat
Od Dra
Ait Meghlif
Ait Toumya
AOUZGIT
Ait Tamassin
Ait Bangan
Ait Tigdi Ouchen
Ait Wagherda
Ait Arman
Ait Oubial
Amara
Ait Amer
Ait Ighriban
Ait Ousqad
Imjicht
Timdi Iraifen
Ait Ouladjoun
Iznagen
(Zenaga)
Ait Wallen
Ait Said
Azouraşen
Aglaou
Ait 3

/201 cont./

616 with the alliances of the cantons of the Masmouda (1).

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*634
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> 1. Cf. de Foucauld, Reconnaissance /Reconnaissance/, pp. 318-320. A short note by C^t Justinard on the "leffs du Sud-Ouest Marocain" /leffs of the Moroccan Southwest/ ("Notes sur l'histoire du Sous ... /Notes on the History of the Sous .../," Hespéris, 1926, p. 359) indicates some aspects of this political organization in the coastal region. Besides we have been able, in the course of circuits among the Aït Mzal and the Souktana, to complete our documentation rapidly. Nevertheless contradictions exist in the information collected up to now. One cannot be surprised; a complete investigation of the leffs cannot be conducted without studying completely the social life and local history of the tribes. The political map appended to this study gives only the approximate distribution of the two leffs.

101 We shall content ourselves here with describing their essential
616 aspects.

619 Two large masses of tribes in the Anti-Atlas refer to a "Tagezzoult" origin. One of them is settled around the Tazerwalt and includes, with the confederation of the Ida Oultit, the Akhsas and the Mejjat. The other one groups the populations of the central Anti-Atlas, already united around the Aghren at the time of Ibn Toumert, embraces the Ilalen, Ida ou Zekri, Iberkaken, Isaffen, Ida Ou Kensous, Ida Ou Nadif. The party opposed to the "Igezzoulen" of /202/ the West takes the name of "Aoggwa" or "Ioggwin"; the adversaries of the "Igezzoulen" of the East are called the "Isouktan."

/202 cont./

101 The "Aoggwa" (1)
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1. The Aoggwa appear to us to have been an ancient Berbère /Berber/ tribe of the Sous. Their name is found at various points of the country (Unpublished notes of F. de la Chapelle on the mountain tribes of the Mtougga command).

are formed by most of the tribes that are found nowadays on the
western routes of penetration of the mountains. From the plain
[131] of the Chtouka they extend on the one hand toward Tiznit, the
[491] Oulad Jerrar, the Aït Brihim, the Ifran, by the coast trail; on the
other hand they go up toward the summits by way of the Aït
Mzal, the Ida Ou Ktir, and the Ammeln, where they follow the
transverse road that leads from the Sous plain toward Tamanart
and Tizounin.

616 On the plains, in the vicinity of the Ocean, it is not rare
619 that a tribe is divided between the two leffs, but on the whole,
184 especially in the western Anti-Atlas, it is entire tribes or even
confederations that enter into one or the other of the alliances.
On the contrary, in the East, the units that form the leffs of the
Igezzoulen and Isouktan scarcely exceed the scope of a canton.
Ch. de Foucauld had already observed this more intimate mixture in the Saharan oases at Tatta, Tissint, and in the tribe of
the Inda Ou Zal; but on the evidence of incomplete information
he believed in the existence of a bloc of "Isouktan" embracing
the Aït Semmeg, the Souktana, Zenaga, and Aït Amer. In going around the country we were able to convince ourselves of the
616 state of division of the two leffs in the very tribe of the Souktana
619 that gives its name to one of the parties (2).

[101] 2. In order to avoid confusion we shall employ here the Arabic form "Souktana" to designate the tribe of this name, to the south

/202 cont./

•616 619 [101] *[634] /footnote 2 continued/ of the Zagmouzen, and the Berbère /Berber/ form "Isouktan" to indicate the leff.

In the Souktana tribe, the fractions of the Aït Sous, Aït Fenzer of Tinfat, Ounzen, Tounan, and El Hazen belong to the leff of the "Isouktan"; those of the Aït Tazoult, Aït Ighriten, Aït Hamid, Intaoun, Ighghedioun are "Igezzoulen"; Azrar, Izazen, and Imghartiyn are divided between the two leffs.

616 184 XI. Political role of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas. -- The importance of the leffs in the political life of the Anti-Atlas varies according to region.

[792] [578] South of the Sirwa, it remained very great up to the time of the conquest of the Glawa. In this part of the country, each one still knows with great precision the boundary of each of the parties; the marabouts especially, used to going to pacify discords at /map appears here/ /203/ a great distance, carefully make out which alliance they are dealing with in the smallest village.

616 619 578 184 In the central Anti-Atlas, in the heart of the great mass of Igezzoulen of the mountains, the feeling of the brotherhood of the tribes is inevitably disturbed by internal discords; it is only at the boundary of the "Aoggwa" tribes that the hatreds are revealed with force between the two parties. Thus the struggle of the Aït Mzal, who are Aoggwa, and the Ilalen, of the alliance of the Igezzoulen, for possession of the souks /sooks/ is inflamed by the spirit of the leffs.

[726] [538] In the Tiznit plain, war between the two alliances was constant before our occupation, and the poets used to find an inexhaustible source of inspiration in these combats. In seems, besides, that in the vicinity of the coast the preponderance of the 616 619 mountain over the plain gave the pride of their strength to the "Igezzoulen," long grouped in independence around the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 271]

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/Left side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

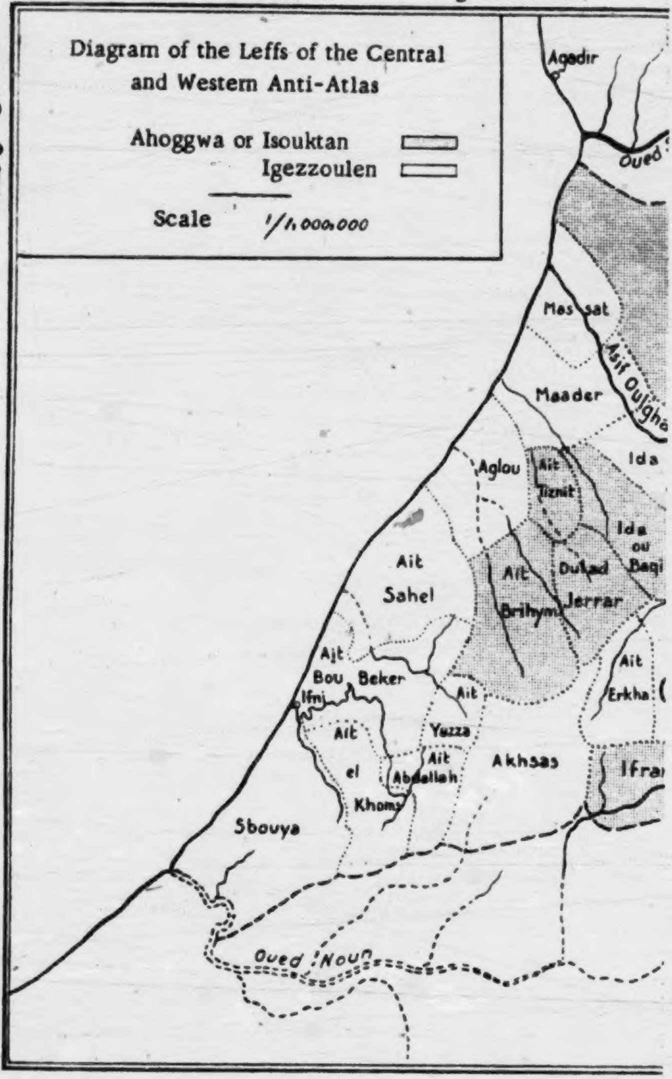
Diagram of the Leffs of the Central and Western Anti-Atlas
Ahoggwa or Isouktan ▨
Igezzoulen ☐
Scale 1/1.000.000
Agadir
Oued
Massat
Asif Oulgha
Maader
Ida
Aglou
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou Baqi
Ait Sahel
Ait Brihym
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Bou Beker
Ifni
Ait
Ait Erkha
Ait el Khoms
Yazza
Ait Abdallah
Akhsas
Ifra
Sbouya
Oued Noun

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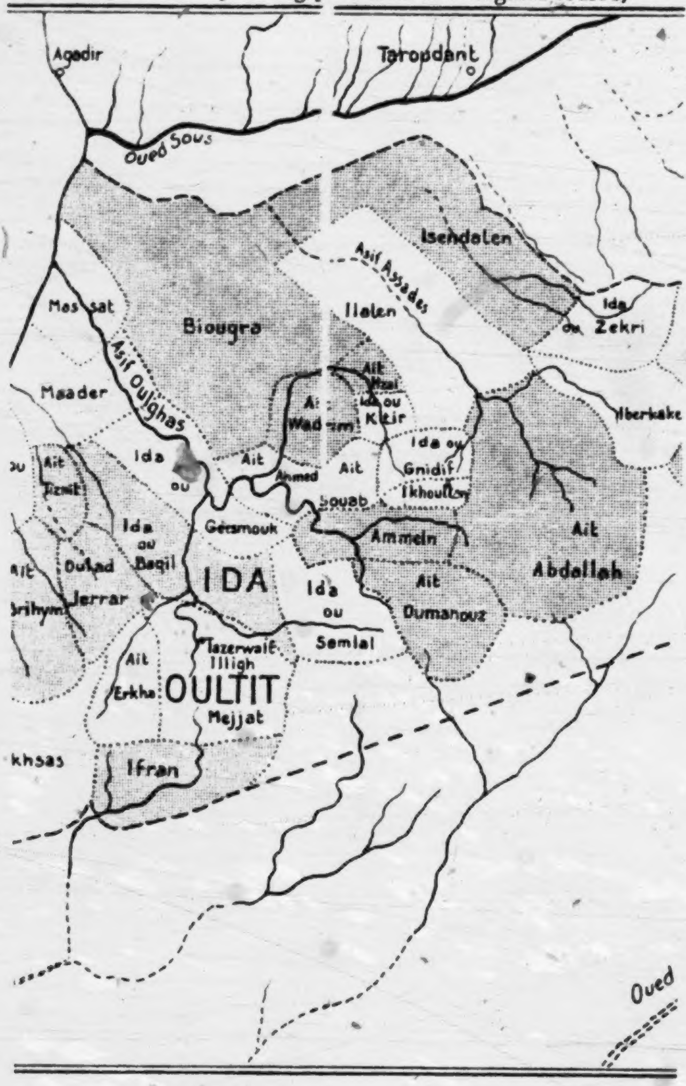
/Central part of map facing p. 202 in the original source/


Agadir
Taroudant
Oued Sous
Isendalen
Asif Assades
Ida ou Zekri
Ilalen
Massat
Biougra
Asif Oulghas
Maader
Ait Wadrim
Ait Mzal
Ida ou Ktir
Iberkake
Ida ou Gnidif
Ikhoulf
Ait Ahmed
Souab
Ait Tiznit
Ida ou
Ida ou Baqil
Getsmouk
IDA
Ida ou Semlal
Ammeln
Ait Abdallah
Ait Oumanouz
Oulad Jerrar
Ait Brihym
Tazerwalt
Illigh
Ait Erkha
OULTIT
Mejjat
Ifran
khsas
Oued

/Right side of map facing p. 202 in the original source/

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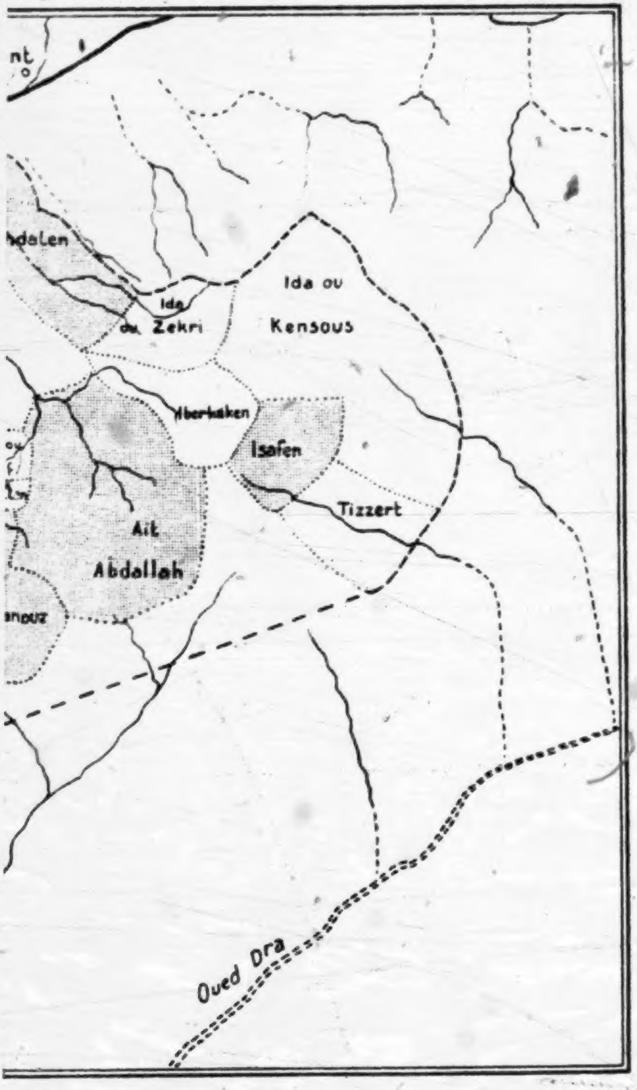
nt
dalen
Ida ou Zekri
Ida ou Kensous
Aberbaken
Isafen
Tizzert
Ait Abdallah
nouz
Oued Dra

/203 cont./

• 616 descendants of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa, from whom they made
619 their amghars and their kings. They believe their leff superior
[186] in nobility or in courage to that of the richer, but less warlike
agriculturalists; the "Aoggwa" are thus ashamed to acknowledge their origin, and the members of this leff, it is said, have come to the use of secret signs in order to recognize one another (1).

1. This feeling of inferiority of the Aoggwa is not one of the least difficulties of the investigations made in order to learn the distribution of the two leffs.

The stability of both parties, without being so great, per-
*[634] haps, as in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, nevertheless suffices for easily distinguishing the leffs from the secondary alliances concluded between cantons in order to settle local disputes; such temporary associations are rarely established between fractions of tribes belonging to opposite leffs.

616 The same as in the Haut-Atlas, the policy of the Makhzen
/makhzan/ has tried in the Anti-Atlas to utilize the rivalries of
619 leffs in order to penetrate into the mountains more easily. In
648 particular, the sultans seem to have set the mass of the Chtouka
175 against the center of resistance of the Igezzoulen, which the Tazerwalt had been for three centuries. Aghennaj, the great chief of the Haha at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who had put to flight the marabout of the Tazerwalt, Sidi Hachem, amghar of the Igezzoulen, swept along with him the tribes of the Sous plain and the Chtouka of the "Aoggwa" leff; and people still say to comment on this defeat: /204/ "By God, O Gezzoula, is it not shameful for us that Aghennaj threshed at the gates of Illigh" (1).

1. Justinard, ibid., p. 362.

Aghennaj, moreover, continued his march as far as the des-
(173) ert, reached Tamanart, the other traditional center of the power

/204 cont./

616 of the "Igezzoulen"; then, according to tradition, he came back
619 to the Sous across the mountains, carrying along behind him con-
648 tingents from all the tribes subjugated, amidst combats, by the
safe route toward the North offered him by the Ammeln, the Ida
175 ou Gnidif, and the Aït Mzal, of the leff of the "Aoggwa." Fifty
[173] years later Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, Caliphate of the Sous in the reign of Sidi Mohammed, contrary to his predecessor Aghennaj, remembered again that the tribes of the Haha all belonged to the great leff of the Igezzoulen and celebrated in great pomp his alliance with the son of Sidi Hachem; for having changed traditional policy in this way, however, he had to pay for this triumph with his life, by drinking, under the Sultan's eyes, the poison reserved for the enemies of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

616 XII. Historical hypotheses on the formation of the two leffs
578 of the Anti-Atlas. -- Although the appearance of the leffs is
174 more complex here than in the Atlas of the Masmouda, it is
easier to perceive in this region the origin of these two alliances.
[184] In the minds of the tribal Berbères /Berbers/, among the Souktana or the Aït Mzal, for example, the two leffs represent the tradition of ancient quarrels between two rival families at the time when the populations of the Anti-Atlas were still living in the desert; in support of this argument, people assert that the hatred of the two leffs has remained much more passionate in the vicinity of the Sahara. But the aggravation of the struggle of the parties is explained as well in these confines by the closer mixture of the families belonging to the two leffs and which came recently to colonize the oases of the Bani.

616 The name of the leffs of the Anti-Atlas, which designate
174 either a big family of invading Berbères /Berbers/ -- the Igezzoulen -- or former tribes, like the Isouktan and the Aoggwa, and the very aspect of the two opposing alliances distributed in large masses around the summits or along the routes of penetration suggest rather the idea that this institution takes its origin here in the mode of the peopling of the land. Our ignorance of the history of the /205/ tribes permits us only to imagine how

/205 cont./

616 the two leffs could have been constituted in the most ancient
174 times.

The Igezzoulen, Senhaja Berbères /Berbers/ who doubtless
616 came from the Sahara toward the Sous in the first centuries of
174 the Hegira, found before them some Zenaga -- other Senhaja
167 who had preceded their brothers in the occupation of the country,
648 as well as Masmouda already settled in the valleys (1).

We know the furious resistance set against the Almohades by the Igezzoulen of the Far South. On the other hand, in the thirteenth century the Zenaga, in the Jbel Negisa (2), to the east of the Anti-Atlas, seem to have given, with the Arabs, their support to the founding of the small kingdom of the Beni Yedder, who fought especially against the Igezzoulen. Were the Zenaga in the East, at the same time as the Souktana, the champions of the fight against the invaders, who would have settled at first in the mountains, in the poorest part of the country? Did not the Aoggwa, too, perhaps united with the Chtouka, settled from this time on in the vicinity of the western plains, try to contain their rude neighbors in the region of the summits? Finally, as a consequence of the invasion of the Maʿqil, a fusion of Arab and Berbère /Berber/ elements would doubtless have been

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1. A tradition collected in the country of the Ammeln represents the Igezzoulen as the group of noble tribes that came from Arabia to bring Islam to the Aoggwa of the Anti-Atlas, then following pagan practices or Judaism. That would be a popular interpretation of the conquest of the Anti-Atlas by the Igezzoulen, doubtless realized by invoking the principles of Islam against the tribes poorly converted up to then.

2. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. I, p. 132.

S /205 cont./
616 produced, more noticeable in the plains than in the mountains,
174 in such a way that the leff of the "Aoggwa" would in our day be
[167] [648] penetrated more by Arab influences.

Later the progressive settlement of the tribes on their territory, the natural mixing of the small social groups, and the indefinite repetition of the quarrels of the tribal fractions must have led to the breaking up of the large leffs in the east of the Anti-Atlas, at the junction point with the territory of the Aït Waouzgit; the same phenomenon would have been produced toward the Atlantic plains and at the edge of the desert. Thus little by little there would be constituted the political chessboard of the Far South, whose irregular aspect is still far from presenting the balanced state of division of the leffs of the Masmouda, more ancient, fragmented into equal parts, the parts of which are constituted by cantons.

R XIII. The leffs of the Jbala and of the Rif. -- The institu-
616 tion of the leffs /206/ assumes, among the sedentary peoples of
171 the north of Morocco, an aspect that differs both from that of the
Masmouda and from the tribes of the Anti-Atlas.

From the Atlantic versant of the chain of the North and as far as the mouth of the Moulouya, which forms the eastern boundary of the Rif, people designate, by the name of "Senhaja" and of "Ghomara," at the same time two large confederations and alliances of tribes comparable to the ones of the south of Morocco (1).

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1. Cf. on the Ghomara and Senhaja: M. Michaux-Bellaire, "Quelques tribus de montagnes /Some Mountain Tribes/," pp. 4-8; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Une liste de surnoms populaires des tribus Djebalah /A List of Popular Surnames of the Jebala Tribes/" (Archives berbères, 1918). -- Our friend M. G.-S. Colin has kindly consented to communicate to us an unpublished study that he

*634 /231 cont./
184 of the "taqbilt," itself gives evidence of the constant anarchy by
578 its external aspect; the scattered and isolated houses give it the
361 appearance of a little corner of the Rif.

*634 VIII. The internal and external wars. -- During the fights
616 that the cantons of the two leffs of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/
701 wage against one another, the small Berbère /Berber/ states do
726 not designate any military leaders. The moqaddem acts as one. Each "taqbilt" fights in dispersed order, in the inextricable confusion that results from the entanglement of the two alliances. Even in the most serious circumstances, when the independence of the high mountains is threatened by the forces of the Makhzen /makhzen/ or the neighboring kaids, the state of division of the country does not generally allow designating a single leader in this region. The Ida Ou Tanan themselves, whose constitution
[648] is so strong and so respected, summoned by Moulay el Hasan in 1888 to show their submission by the sending of presents, knew very well how to come to an arrangement, in spite of the efforts of their notables or their amghars, to refuse that homage to the sovereign; but the mass of the warriors who had decided to reject the authority of the Makhzen could oppose to the Sultan's harkas only efforts that were poorly contrived and dedicated in advance to failure. In the same way, at the time of the conquest of the Aghbar by the kaids of Tagontaft, the four fractions of the high valley, habitually divided, united for an instant and imposed silence on the leff disputes that put them in opposition; but no leader appeared capable of directing a resistance, which was nevertheless heroic and obstinate (1).

1. Cf. Revue des Études islamiques, 1927, p. 231; Hespéris, 1927, p. 24.

*634 /232/ In the cantons remaining faithful to the regime of
701 assemblies and moqaddems, it seems that the greatest perils can-
726 not give rise to a man of war capable of saving them from danger. So, most often, the independent tribes close themselves up in a

*634
648

/235 cont./

796 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the
53 fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the
glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night
571 around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives
796 to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in
182 the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep
for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the
"taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike fes-
796 tivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" fig-
571 ure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The
•616 great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the
182 Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of
619 Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still
larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/269 cont./

642 appearance of personal power; a family in a high valley succeeds
*634 in consolidating the /270/ precarious organization that has
178 created, to its advantage, a successful leader; one then sees for
two or three generations the activity of the councils of "inflas"
weaken or disappear and the struggle of the rival "ikhs" stop;
the social life itself changes, and the distance between the rich
and the poor, the strong and the humble, increases rapidly. A
little apart from this village, where all lived in apparent equality
not long ago, the fortified house of the amghar and his brothers
soon rises. Finally the external policy of the little state is also
transformed and becomes more bellicose. The combative ardor
[578] of the opposed "ikhs," without employment within, finds in the
[613] leff quarrels the means of spending the surplus forces of the
•[616] "taqbilt."

If general causes exert themselves at a distance to facilitate
[669] the development of despotic power, rising spontaneously in a
canton, several small revolutions break out at the same time in
various parts of the mountains. One soon sees a new regime of
government established, which by degrees prevails. Such is the
[175] spectacle that was presented by the western Haut-Atlas /High
Atlas/ twice in the last 50 years: first of all, in the middle of
the nineteenth century, in the regions now subject to the great
kaids, during the period that preceded and facilitated their
domination; then, at the beginning of the twentieth century, in
the parts of the mountains remaining free, when the political
pressure of the masters of the casbahs of Bouaboud, Tagontaft,
and Telwet on the republics of the high valleys was accentuated.

121 Having reached this point in our investigation, we must try
*634 to see clearly the conditions under which the authority of the
178 amghars rises and develops, and what institutions -- precarious,
without doubt, and imperfect like their power itself -- they
substitute for the ones of the small republics that they have
destroyed.

121 This research does not proceed without presenting numerous
*634 difficulties. In order to carry it out, at the risk of losing the way
669 in the thousand details of Berbère /Berber/ life, and without fear

726 /273 cont./
*634 vengeance of the exiles. Sometimes in the course of these combats
661 the "taqbilt" is seen to split into two groups, each having
578 its chief, who, with arms in hand, dispute the possession of the
613 limitrophe households. The marabouts and the moqaddems of
• [616] the friendly leff usually intervene in these circumstances, in
[792] order to re-establish unity somehow or other.

Woe to the amghar who establishes his power without first of
*634 all having had his authority recognized by everyone, if need be
661 by traitorously assassinating his rivals! His career is indeed
[682] quickly stopped by the return to fortune of an enemy from the
175 first hours. This is what happened to a minor amghar of the Seksawa
*634 in the middle of the last century, Hammo Ou Bella of the
canton of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, father of Si Mokhtar Seksawi, the
578 very one who was later to subjugate part of the mountains, fight
661 victoriously against the Mtouggi, and become the greatest chief
726 of his tribe. Hammo Ou Bella, moqaddem of Awines, had succeeded
in imposing himself upon the notables of his "taqbilt."
In order to consolidate his power and have unity around him, he
[616] threw himself, with the leff of the "Imsifern," into the conquest
of two fractions of the adverse leff, the Aït Mousa and the Sekrat,
these two little groups that his son, after meticulous preparation,
was to annex long years later without striking a blow. But in the
course of these enterprises his own "taqbilt" abandoned him,
following the intrigues of a rival "ikhs" head, El Hajj ᶜAli
Hammo, whom he had neglected to get rid of; Hammo Ou Bella
perished, abandoned by his brothers, under the blows of the warriors
of the defeated fractions.

175 Si Mokhtar, son of the Moqaddem Hammo Ou Bella, retained
the lesson; when he in his turn had taken power and experienced
*634 all the difficulties that the presence of hostile "ikhs" can cause a
613 new amghar, he took advantage of a happy return to fortune to
682 invite all his enemies to a magnificent festival to celebrate the
578 /274/ reconciliation of the parties; then at night, while the
noise of the songs and dances was filling the valley, he discreetly
175 had all his enemies assassinated. The continuation of his policy
*634 was thus simplified, and this fortunate beginning opened up to

*634 /274 cont./
556 permit attempting vast enterprises. On the other hand, to try to
increase the profits of command by abuses in this small territory
434 would risk weakening the support presently given to the amghar
661 by the formerly hostile "ikhs." The chief thus finds himself constrained /275/ to ask outside for the fortune that he cannot acquire in his own canton.

[651] Of course there are indeed the benefits from the "zettata,"
which all foreigners are made to pay for passage through the
[486] cols. But that is a gain left customarily to the poor people and
[558] to the route cutters; although it is not illegal, in the eyes of the
Berbères /Berbers/, an amghar could not keep it for himself --
at least publicly -- without failing. One single path remains
[721] open, more glorious and conforming to the traditions of the
"taqbilt": war waged against the leff enemies. In this will be found the advantage of maintaining the accord of the new subjects and at the same time consolidating, by the bonds of combat, the union of the naturally divided "ikhs" around a single chief.

*634 So the beginnings of an ambitious amghar are similar every-
where in the high valleys. With his first resources he constructs a
661 solid house provided with a large reception room in order to re-
721 ceive guests properly, to create friendships for himself, to
571 augment his following in the allied cantons. He is generous,
[574] entertains with liberality, receives favorably all who come to
seek his protection and take refuge with him. The amghars and
the moqaddems of the vicinity appeal to him when they are in
difficulty. From then on, every occasion that presents itself for
• [616] sustaining the weak cantons of his leff and bringing them the
support of his warriors serves his policy. His forces are put at the service of his leff, and already, by the intrigues that he concocts in the "taqbilt" of the adverse side, by means of soff struggles, he intervenes to disunite the common enemy and prepare its defeat.

121 It remains for us to show by some examples how this clever
*634 external policy permits the amghars to establish and maintain
128 their power. The history of the origins of the chiefs of Tagontaft,

/275 cont./
121 who appeared about 1860, that of a minor amghar of the Seksawa,
*634 El Hajj Hafid of the canton of the Idma, grown great at the time
128 of the rivalry of the kaids of the Mtougga and of the Nefis at the
beginning of the present century, finally, the spectacle of the
rivalries of the amghars of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg for 80
years will make us understand better what help the opposition
of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs brings to the ambitious.

175 IV. The beginnings of the amghar of Tagontaft (1850-1860).
*634 -- At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the country
of the Nefis was still placed under the distant authority of the
•616 kaids of Agergour, of the tribe of the /276/ Ouzgita of the Jbel
Kik, the villages that rise in the mountains on both sides of the valley belonged, according to the cantons, to the two leffs of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Iraten." From the Aghbar to the entrance of the wadi into the plain, these cantons of the two parties alternated regularly, and nowhere did the "checkerboard" of Berbère /Berber/ rivalries achieve so perfect an equilibrium between the two alliances. Each group obeyed a minor amghar who held power both from the Makhzen /makhzan/ and from the notables, and succeeded in establishing a just balance between the opposite tendencies of the two forms of government.

175 About 1850 the war between the two leffs, the "Aït Atman"
and the "Aït Iraten," became extremely violent between Tinmel
*634 and Agergour, and the minor chief of the canton of Toug el Khir
616 won out over his enemy of the Targa n Aït Iraten, who perished
726 in the combat. The defeated "Aït Iraten" of Targa and of the
Asif Amezghouni then called on their leff brothers from the cantons of ʿAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert, in the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, who came in large numbers, under the command of their amghars, to help them in the name of the ancient bonds.

175 One of these amghars, El Hajj Ahmed n Aït Lhasen, descend-
159 ant of a taleb of the Anti-Atlas, who had formerly come into the
*634 valley of the Nefis in the capacity of village fqih /faqih/, was
commanding the group of the four small hamlets of Gokten, Wigit, Isqalen, Artatein, to which one gives the name of Tagontaft. El Hajj Ahmed, who was both a respected fqih /faqih/ and

/276 cont./

175 amghar, taught the religious sciences to many pupils; he shared,
159 according to custom, the profits of power with the "Aït Arba^{c}in"
*634 of his "mouda^c." He was a simple man without ambition, who
was not impelled by anything to leave the path traced out by the double tradition of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ government.

His son Mohammed, who was then about thirty years old, was endowed with both great courage and a surprising spirit of enterprise. Both greedy and generous, noble and sly, he was also a redoubtable adversary in combat, where he rushed on the enemy, recognizable by his tall stature and his black beard. His physical strength was unusual, and the sight of him engendered in the minds of his adversaries an inexpressible terror, which was sometimes attributed to a kind of magical power.

After a disagreement with his father, Mohammed went /277/ to Agergour on the Jbel Kik, to the kaid El Hajj Ahmed of the Ouzgita, and succeeded in obtaining for himself the command of the four small hamlets of Tagontaft. He began immediately to build himself a veritable amghar's house at Wigit, cutting widely into the beautiful olive-trees that adorn the slopes of the hills. As his father was reproaching him then for destroying the crops and trees in a country where productive land is rare and precious, Mohammed replied that "other crops and trees existed in the Asif Nefis, among his leff enemies, the "Aït Atman."

175 Later the rapid conquests of the amghar Mohammed appeared
159 so surprising that the natives sometimes spread the rumor that the
family of the Aït Lahsen /sic/, Mohammed or his father the fqih,
*634 had discovered a silver mine by secret proceedings, which they
•616 took up from their ancestors from the Sous, clever, as is known, at
726 discovering hidden treasures. But all those who lived through the
little epic of the Tagontaft chiefs know very well that at the beginning the amghar Mohammed had only the strength of his "ikhs" and "no mine other than the tribe." Indeed, we see the amghar Mohammed, hardly in possession of the power, begin by conquering the nearby village of Tamerwout, which formed a kind of islet of "Aït Atman" in the leff of the "Aït Iraten"; then,

/277 cont./

175 after absorbing this hostile group, engage resolutely in the fight
159 against the neighboring chiefs of the adverse leff. These were
*634 the amghars of Tagemout, Tagadirt n Oumious, Timlilt, and
•616 Arghen, between Tagontaft and Tinmel. The forces of the young
726 amghar of Tagontaft were made up of all the warriors of his canton, completely devoted to his person, and of those of the fractions of his leff: ᶜAlla and the Asif Amezghouni.

As soon as his first successes enabled him to increase his resources, the amghar Mohammed engaged a band of mercenaries made up of adventurers from all directions: from the Chtouka, from the Inda ou Zal, and from the Marrakech plain. Holding the whole mountain, he then communicated with his allies of ᶜAlla by a goat path from the Adrar n Tasaft. From the heights of ᶜAlla, Tagontaft, and Mouldiert incessant expeditions descended by his order against the villages of the Nefis. Soon, thanks to his provocations, war was kindled between the two leffs in the whole valley of the Nefis as far as the Jbel Kik. Finally, the intervention of the kaid of Agergour became necessary in order /278/ to restore order, and Si Brahim, brother and successor of the kaid Ahmed, who had left on the pilgrimage to Mekke /Mecca/, where he was to die, summoned into his casbah the young amghar of Tagontaft, who prudently refused to present himself. Then Mohammed decided to pursue in independence the conquest of the high valleys that had formerly formed the first kingdom of the Almohades.

For ten years he continued to disturb the mountains by the struggle of the leffs, to increase his forces patiently, and to prepare himself by the organization of his conquests to surmount the difficult stage that was to make a tribal chief of him (1).

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1. Cf. farther on, p. 395.

175 V. The amghar El Hajj Hafid of the Idma (1905-1925). --
159 At the end of the last century, the cantons of the mountain
*634 Seksawa, like all those of the Tichka region, were still firmly
attached to the traditional regime of the moqaddems; only the

/278 cont./
175 neighboring "taqbilt" of the Dir had amghars, Ahmed Ou Bihi
159 among the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Mbarek Chtittihi among the Aït Mousa.
*634 Not long after the time when Si Mokhtar, son of the moqaddem
Hammo ou Bella, had taken power among the Aït Lhasen, after
having cleverly suppressed his enemies, as we have said, the son
of a moqaddem of the Idma, Hafid Ou Mohammed n Anino, also
obtained from the Aït Arbaᶜin of his fraction, thanks to his adroitness,
his prestige, and his victories over the nearby fraction of
the Intedan, the title of amghar (1898). As is natural, he had to
[578] wage a long struggle against his rivals in his own village, then he
[682] killed them and took their property.

175 Favorable circumstances then presented themselves to the
new chief of the Idma, who knew how to utilize them fully.
159 About 1905 the struggle of the two great kaids Mtouggi and
*631 Gontafi for influence was at its height; they were contending for
*634 the rich tribes of the Dir and soon the whole mountain was caught
up in their intrigues. Si Mokhtar of the Aït Lhasen, of the leff of
•616 the "Imsifern," already highly organized in his command,
726 espoused, not without some reticence, the cause of the Mtouggi;
the two amghars Ahmed Ou Bihi and Mbarek Chtittihi, neighbors
from the foot of the mountain, of the leff of the "Indghertit,"
wavered about the side to take, while the amghar Hafid of the
Idma rallied without hestitation to the Gontafi. After a confused
struggle, during which Si Mokhtar had /map appears here/ /279/
the Chtittihi assassinated and defeated the fraction of the Aït
ᶜAbdallah upon driving away Ahmed Ou Bihi, the amghar of the
Idma became sole chief of the leff of the "Indghertit." In the
mountains, the struggle of the two great kaids was being carried
on by utilizing the rivalry of the two Berbère /Berber/ alliances.
Si Mokhtar was the champion of Bouaboud with the "Imsifern" to
the extent that his personal interest commanded it. For his part,
Hafid easily assembled the forces of the "Indghertit." It was to
him that the amghars of the Aït Gaïr and all the high-mountain
fractions of the Seksawa came to ask for counsel and support.
For twenty years the old amghar of the Idma could profit from
the advantages of this role of leff chief; without losing any of his

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 371]

/Left side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

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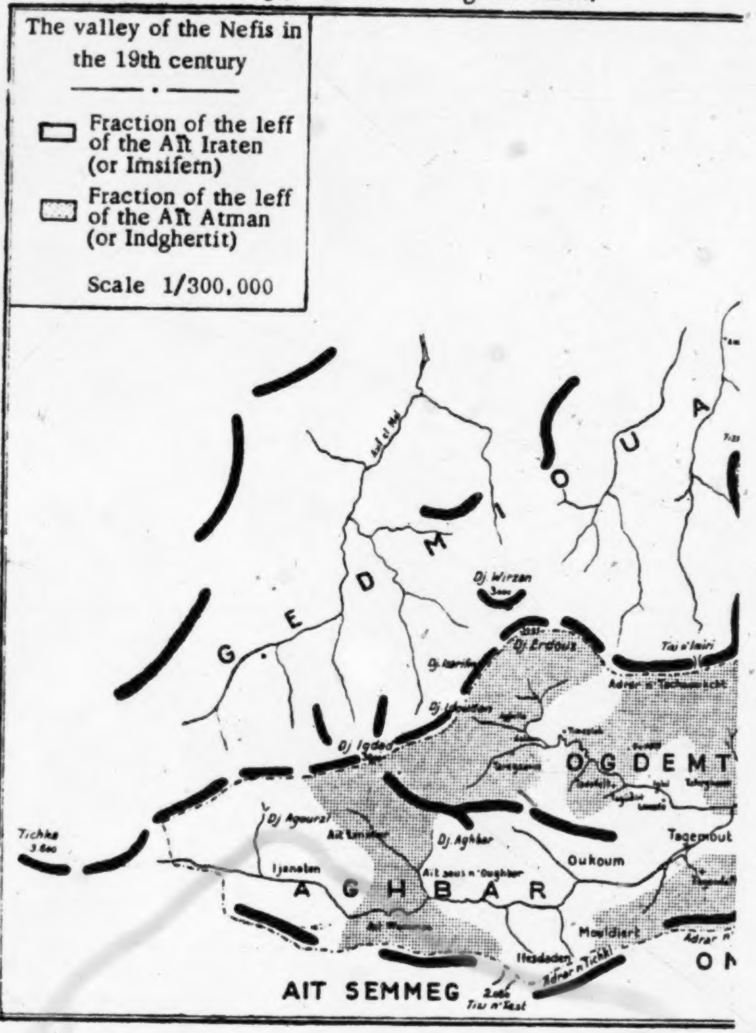
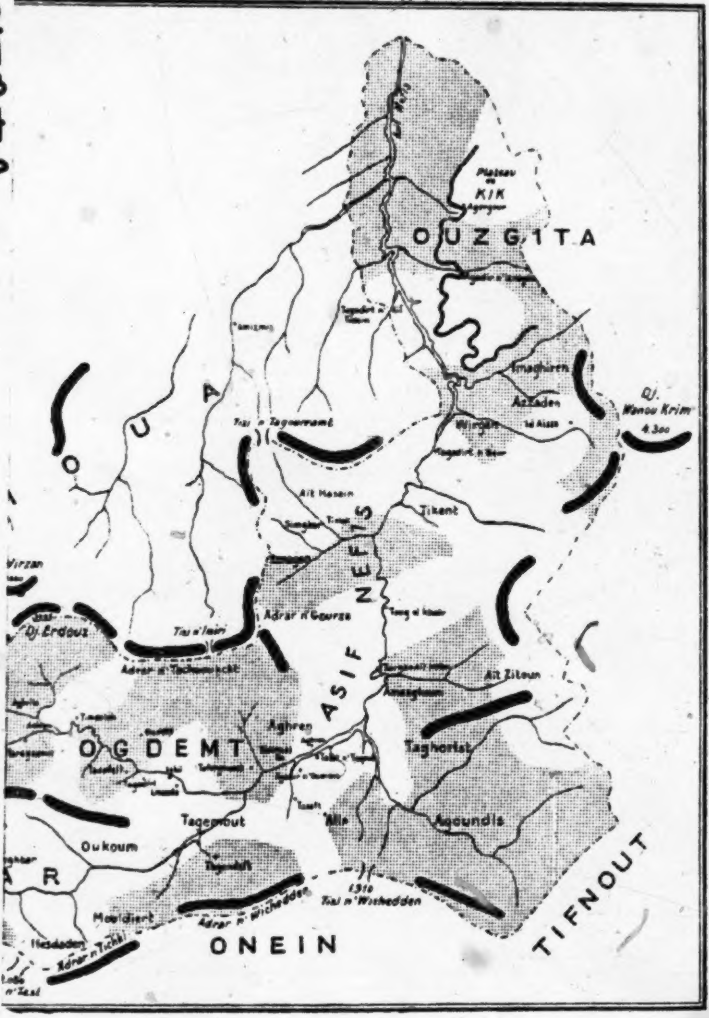

The valley of the Nefis in the 19th century
☐ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Iraten (or Imsifern)
▨ Fraction of the leff of the Aït Atman (or Indghertit)
Scale 1/300,000
G . E D M I O U A
Dj. Wirzan
3000
Dj. Erdouz
Tizi n'Imiri
Adrar n'Tachawacht
Dj. Igdet
Dj. Agoural
Ait Lmider
Dj. Aghbar
OGDEMT
Tagemout
Oukoum
Ijanaten
Ait zaus n'Oughbar
A G H B A R
Ait Wammas
Mouldiert
Ifesdaden
Adrar n'Tichki
Adrar n'
O N
AIT SEMMEG
2080
Tizi n'Test
Tichka
3600

/Right side of map facing p. 278 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616


Plateau du KIK
OUZGITA
Imaghiren
Azzaden
Dj. Wanou Krim 4.300
Wirgan
Tizi n Tagourramt
O U A
Aït Hasein
Tikent
Virzan
Dj. Erdouz
Tizi n'Imiri
Adrar n'Gourza
Adrar n'Tachemracht
NEFIS
ASIF
Aït Zitoun
Aghren
OGDEMT
Taghorist
Tagemout
Alla
Agoundis
Oukoum
Taghdift
1310
Tizi n'Wichedden
Adrar n'Wichedden
Mouldiert
Iksadaden
Adrar n'Tichki
ONEIN
TIFNOUT
A R

/279 cont./
175 independence with respect to the great kaid of the Nefis, he kept
159 intact a readily accepted authority, whose whole secret was in
*631 the strength of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances (1).

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•616 1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.
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VI. The amghars of the Ida Ou Zeddagh (1840-1925). -- It
175 is under conditions analogous to the ones that favored the amghar
*634 Hafid of the Idmą that two families of amghars have kept power
without difficulty on the south versant of the Atlas for several
[616] generations. Although these minor sheiks -- the Aït Bazzi of
Talekjont and the Id Mansour of Talemt -- had seen their liberty
restrained by the close surveillance exercised over them by the
Makhzen /makhzan/ of Taroudant, it is easy to see that all their
power was held, like that of their rivals in the high mountains,
in their role as leff chiefs.

The political circumstances under which the amghars of
Talekjont and Talemt exercised their commands were particularly
stable during the nineteenth century. Up to the time of the conquest of the country by the great kaids, on all the south versant of
the Atlas, from the Onein to the Ida Ou Zal, the organization of
the tribes did not change. The regime of the little Berbère /Berber/ cantons varied according to their distance from the valley of
[184] the Sous, subject to the caliphate of the sultan at Taroudant. In
the high mountains they were small republics, directed by an
assembly presided over by a moqaddem, among the Aït Waggonsan, the Tigouga, the Ida Ou Msattog, or by a simple council of
inflas without a moqaddem at Adebdi, among the Aït Soual, the
Ihengirn; on the slopes were found minuscule cantons governed by
a senate of /280/ three or four notables; finally, large market
towns subject to amghars in touch with the Makhzen /makhzan/
[616] existed at the very edge of the plain. Among these diverse territorial units, the bond between two leffs, the "Ida ou Zeddagh" (1)

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[619] 1. The name Ida ou Zeddagh designates both a tribe and a leff of this tribe and the neighboring regions.

/280 cont./

175 and the "Aït Zolit," was strong enough for the authority of the
*634 minor chiefs to extend, by a chain of alliances, from their
•616 casbah near the Sous to the highest villages of the crests.

175 Originally, about 1850, the amghar ᶜAli n Aït Bazzi and
his rival, Ahmed Ou Mansour, were only minor sheiks similar to
159 those who existed, as we have seen, in the same period in the
*634 high valley of the Nefis, intent on satisfying both the Makhzen
616 /makhzan/ and the Berbère /Berber/ tradition. When El Hajj
726 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, great kaid of the Haha, had entrusted to his
caliphate, the sherif Moulay Idris, the command of Taroudant, the latter interested himself in establishing closer relations with the two amghars in the hope of bringing little by little the montagnards of their respective leffs to the Makhzen. But the opposition of the two alliances ceaselessly fighting was such that he soon had to give it up; in his powerlessness, he is reported to have said one day, designating the two white houses of the enemy sheiks, so near each other and yet irreducibly hostile:

[539] "Satan -- father of discord -- laid two eggs at the foot of the Atlas. Upon breaking them, I found in the first ᶜAli Ou Mansour. As for the second, that of the Bazzi, there was nothing inside but wind!"

ᶜAli Ou Mansour had, indeed, brought his leff to the chief of the Makhzen /makhzan/, while ᶜAli of Talekjont later fled into the mountains and took the side of the Mtougga against the Haha. But neither the one nor the other was able to bring to the caliphate of the sultan the submission of his tribes, because they were powerless to make the two leffs live in peace. Their authority was based only on the rivalry of the alliances, and they could keep it only by fanning the quarrels. Afterward, the Aït Bazzi supported the "siba" against the Makhzen, the pasha of Taroudant against the Gontafi, while their adversaries -- the sons of ᶜAli Ou Mansour -- constantly stayed on the opposite side, that of the Haha, that of the Makhzen of Taroudant with Haida Ou Mwis, that of the Gontafi against Haida.

/281/ Two families have thus kept their positions, with alternate successes and reverses; in the eyes of the montagnards of their leff, their prestige has survived all their defeats.

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175 Subsequently, doubtless the intervention of the great kaids and
*634 later our presence distorted the simple working of the alliances,
•616 but still at present one sees the Aït arbaᶜin come down from the
178 high mountains to the sons of the amghars of former times, who have now become kaids, and ask them for advice on the best way to fight against the neighboring "taqbilt" of the enemy leff. By utilizing the old Berbère /Berber/ institutions, these minor kaids easily get accepted at a distance a sort of protectorate over the fractions still free.

*634 VII. The government of the canton by the amghar. --
642 Under the command of a victorious amghar, what becomes of
178 the institutions of the Berbère /Berber/ republics whose purpose
is to ensure perfect equality to all the families within the "taqbilt"?

When the new chief seizes authority, until then recognized solely in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin, the tradition that fixes the nature of the functions of the moqaddem fortunately comes to guide his first acts. In imitation of his predecessor, he passes himself off as the arbitrator of conflicts and applies himself, at least in appearance, to keeping the balance between rival "ikhs." Often he preserves the exterior forms of the oligarchic government of former times.

Thus we see the minor chief of the Seksawa, who has made his fortune thanks to the leff of the "Indghertit," El Hajj Hafid of the Idma, keep the moqaddems in his canton of origin. But he names them directly, without consulting the council, just as he chooses the Aït arbaᶜin among the families that are personally faithful to him. The meetings are held only in his house, and it is he who regulates the application of the customary law, in accord with the representatives of the "moudaᶜ" designated by him. The moqaddems become above all the agents of execution of his orders and he reserves for himself the political initiative and the right to decide on war.

The Intedan and Aït Mhand, two nearby "taqbilt," on whom El Hajj Hafid exerts his preponderant influence, have kept their

/281 cont./

*634 642 178 councils and magistrates. But among the first, only two personages, friends of the amghar, assume in turn the function of moqaddem. Among the second, the Aït arbaᶜin, whose number has been reduced, and the moqaddem still exist, /282/ but they are no longer changed each year as ancient tradition requires.

Another amghar of the vicinity, Aqqai, who seized power among the Ichkajen, in the tribe of the Ida Ou Mhamoud, only a few years ago, suppressed the moqaddem in his command, but kept the Aït arbaᶜin, who have become his agents of execution and information. They collect for him the "ᶜachour" and the supplementary taxes with which he sends presents to his protector, the amghar Ahmed ou Moulid of the "taqbilt" of the Aït Haddiyous at the summit of the mountain of the Seksawa.

The nearby canton of the Aït Tounert, placed under the influence of the chief of the Aït Haddiyous, has kept, at least in appearance, the former government; but here the protective amghar must sanction the election of the moqaddem designated each year by the council. The Aït arbaᶜin themselves change frequently and are chosen by Ahmed ou Moulid, in agreement with the moqaddem (1).

1. Notes of F. de La Chapelle.

One sees in this way, by a rather slow transformation of the ancient Berbère /Berber/ organization, the oligarchic regime of the high valleys adapt itself little by little to the government of the independent amghars. The most powerful among these chiefs impose their protectorate over other, more recent amghars, who try, because of their very weakness, to treat the traditions with respect. The concern for preserving the strength of the bonds of alliance intact also spurs the protective amghar to respect the customs within his leff; above all, he avoids creating, by overly energetic action, the struggles of soffs that would bring about scissions.

[177] [616] When the power of chiefs develops in a region already subject to the influence of the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the

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institution of councils of inflas and of moqaddems has already disappeared, the policy of the amghar is obviously simplified; it suffices for him to protect the minor sheiks who belong to his leff, without intervening within the cantons already used to despotic power. The amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft did this among the Aït Iraten, at the time when he had undertaken to drive the "Aït Atman" from the valley of the Nefis. The amghars of Talemt, chiefs of the leff of the "Aït Zolit," whose role on the south versant of the Atlas we have seen, /283/ also dominated, without doing away with them, the minor sheiks of Taberbourt, of the Aït Oumzal, and of the Onein, who were both their allies and their subjects. The feeling of leff solidarity here outweighed the personal ambition of the amghar, whose first desire is usually to increase his direct command in order to augment his resources. But all moderation disappears when the chief succeeds in conquering a canton of the adverse leff. He then puts at its head an amghar without local authority, to whom he entrusts a single mission: to watch over the collection of ceaselessly heavier taxes and to make the defeated enemies rapidly disappear.

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One would look in vain at this first stage of the amghar's power for an original feature in the organization of his command that could be regarded as the rough outline of a new political organization. This is because the authority of the new chief, which is still exercised in a very reduced domain, does not need intermediaries; in order to become strong, it borrows traditional forms all prepared and adapts with flexibility, as we have seen, to existing traditions.

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We scarcely see sometimes appearing near the amghar some war comrades, who have come from the outside and who form a kind of personal guard. Most often, however, his "ikhs" suffices for him to constitute this force; outsiders are often accepted with difficulty, their presence gives the amghar who surrounds himself with them too much the air of a gang leader, and the tribe would badly suffer their excesses.

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We are not acquainted with any amghar who has a prison. This is because in all circumstances the chief is still inspired,

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*634 for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taq-
697 bilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile,
671 and a fine.

*634 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the
regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they re-
•616 main mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of
182 political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the
reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the
616 establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of
726 external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction
[682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi,
chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his
[628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of
[178] the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/284 cont./
*634 augmented by pillage, he tries to sow division within the enemy
•616 leff: thus in the reign of Moulay el Hasan, the minor chiefs of
726 the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, who were fighting among them-
178 selves with the fury that we have mentioned, before the conquest of the Gontafi, had with them warriors called by virtue of the bonds of alliance, who received no wage and stayed in place as long as peace was not concluded; but at the same time there were already appearing around the amghars hired combatants who made war "by the day" and went home as soon as the service asked for had been rendered; these mercenaries came from fractions of the adverse leff that were not directly engaged in battle.

Another still clearer example of the decline of the leffs can be found in the quarrels of the amghars of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa before the conquest of the Glawa, in the time of Moulay el Hasan. While the fractions of the summits and those of the high valleys of the Tifnout and of the Tidili were still keeping their assemblies of /285/ notables, several independent amghars had been seen to develop in the Zagmouzen and the Azilal. Among them the Id Mhammed of Tamjerjt and the Aït Ammo of Takharbant had then undertaken to divide with each other, arms in hand, the valley of the Tifnout. To the disinherited inhabitants of the plateau, this region indeed looked like a valley of abundance, peopled with rich tributaries. Each of the two chiefs soon seized the cantons nearest his village, without paying close attention to
[651] the leffs of origin. But difficulties were not long in appearing. Indeed, when it was a matter of levying taxes on these lands of conquest, discords broke out between the amghars on the subject of some contested households. Each then called on his allies, and one then saw a strange confusion occur in the disputed lands. The household heads subject to an amghar paid him tribute regularly as long as war had not broken out; but, from the first shots on, they took up arms against their master of the day before, in the name of the traditional alliances. The ancient leffs could not long resist these overturnings; associations of cantons and of families were formed, which no longer heeded the ancient rules
*634 of composition of the leff. To these alliances the Aït Waouzgit
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*634 sometimes give the characteristic name of "amqon n mokohelt"
•616 -- which can be translated by "leff of combat" (1).

1. Literally: "leff of gun."

[178] In reality they are no more than parties that refer to a chief and no longer to a venerable tradition of mutual aid for war and peace as in former times.

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In spite of these disturbances, at this period in the political transformation of the country the decline of the leffs did not become irremediable. The amghars, whatever their ambitions, their rivalries in the various tribes of the vicinity, or their new interests might be, still remain closely attached to their cantons of origin, whose friendships and alliances are wedded to a long political past. The slow dissociation of the bonds of alliance that we observe still cannot produce changes comparable to the ones that will be introduced later by the intervention of the Berbère /Berber/ kaids from the mountains, such as the Mtouggi or the Gontafi, capable of suddenly reversing the correspondence of the leffs in entire tribes, thanks to the power of money and to the /286/ interested complicity of the amghars whose protectors they become.

*634 IX. The amghars grow more important apart from the Makhzen. -- Before leaving this region of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, in which so large a number of independent amghars have appeared since the middle of the last century, it is desirable to point out a circumstance that made the formation of their power possible: the remoteness of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and the freedom of action that the mountains can offer to the efforts of an ambitious man when the tribes inhabiting them still escape the authority of the Sultan's kaids. Two different examples are going to show us how this freedom is necessary during the first years of the fortune of the minor Berbère /Berber/ chiefs.

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In 1865, at the time when the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft finished conquering the cantons hostile to his leff in the high valley of the Nefis, in that part of the country that was

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*634 This "amghar" has only a house similar to that of the other
613 notables, scarcely decorated with two whitewashed borjs. All
682 his strength is in that of his "brothers," members of his "ikhs" or
of his village. They help him make his enemies disappear, for,
[697] like the amghar of the high valleys of the Seksawa, the one of
the [illegible]la Ou Tanan does not have a prison for keeping them near
him. Therefore he kills his adversaries in ambushes, or sometimes, like the amghar Akherraz of the Aït Ou ^{c}Azzoun, he seizes them, ties their feet and hands, and has them /290/ hurled into the void from the edge of the mountains, whose abrupt cut
*634 dominates the country. At the same time that he asserts his
613 domination, his "ikhs" increases ceaselessly, and at present we see the one of the amghars of the Aït Tinkert, the Aït Ouazghi, form by its importance and wealth a veritable "afous" or canton, thanks to the fortune acquired by its chiefs for a century.

*634 Here there is no leff that can serve the amghar's ambitions.
•616 But throughout Berbère /Berber/ country there are discords of
cantons and of families that one can fan in order to draw ad-
[578] vantages from it. With the money raised by "frida" or gained from pillage, the new chief's party is recruited by the chance of circumstances or of local rivalries. The amghar constitutes his leff himself, crushes the defeated, tames the hostile notables, and, according to the strong Berbère /Berber/ expression: "he mounts them," as one mounts horses or mules, he makes them work for his gain. When he has become strong enough for people to seek his protection internally and his alliance externally, his fortune is made. His authority is recognized by all; he modifies at his pleasure the scales of fines, imposes sanctions as he pleases, without consulting custom. One sees assassins and thieves, threatened by the inflas of the neighboring "afous," come to beg for his support, to offer sacrifices at his door, and to obtain a stop to the pursuits, for the payment of a fine, which unmistakably resembles a gift and which enlarges his war chest.

It seems that in this region the absence of stable and balanced leffs that form an already prepared war organization obliges the chief who wants to assert himself to intervene more

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*634 actively than elsewhere in order to produce the conflicts neces-
• [616] sary for the development of his power. Hence a more apparent characteristic of violence even in the exercise of his power.

Also when the amghar disappears, victim of a rival's hate -- rarely from vengeance, for the worst abuses are endured with a surprising passivity -- his work perishes with him. When
[178] Akherraz fell under the ax of the slave of a sheik of the Ida Ou Ziki 30 years ago, the republican regime was resuscitated at once, the "imzran" reappeared, and the annual circuit of justice was carried out anew with the customary ceremonial, faithfully preserved in all memories.

At other times, upon the chief's death, it happens that his sons lack authority; they are then deposed very simply, and they come /291/ to take only a modest place in the council of the Aït arbaᶜin re-established with all its attributions. These sudden changes express the reaction of the masses quite well. Weary of the dictatorship, which re-established internal order, but used up
[726] the country's forces in combats waged outside, the tribe rests for a time in anarchy, and soon the war of the soffs succeeds that of the cantons.

Nevertheless, it is not unparalleled that a compromise is established between the two opposed regimes and that the chief succeeds, thanks to his cleverness, in transmitting to his son a recognized and accepted authority. The Aït Oumghar of Tassedremt, among the Ifesfasen, thus succeeded in keeping power for three generations. They content themselves, it is true,
[642] with collecting a third of the fines and presiding over the meeting of the notables; the annual circuit of justice begins and ends in their house; it seems, however, that the equilibrium thus established between the chief and the tribe is not durable and that the balance leans slowly but surely toward an oligarchic regime through the increase in the power of the most influential notables.

*634 642 The amghars of the Aït Tinkert, on the contrary, kept most of the prerogatives of despotic power. Doubtless they respect some of the ancient forms of the Berbère /Berber/ government; there still exists in each of the ten afous of their command a

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000 the family head arrives at the rank of powerful amghar or of kaid recognized by the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the most difficult stage is that of the beginnings. The cleverest are the ones who know how to avoid it by appealing to the power of the great collective sentiments: love of independence, hate of the Christian, religious faith. They then succeed in winning the confidence of the masses at a single blow. Adorned from the first days with the title of "Moujahid" -- combatant in the holy war -- with the renown of thaumaturge or the prestigious name of Mahdi, they thus escape the servitude of the soffs and leffs, which imperiously determines the first acts of the amghars in their canton. Only the former establish their power, like Ibn Toumert and ᶜAbd el Moumen long ago, like ᶜAbd el Kerim in our day, without having to use up their forces to break first of all the narrow cadres in which the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/ is enclosed.

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Chapter II

The Development of Personal Power Or the Conquest of the Tribe

I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis (1860-1876). -- II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- III. A little state of the summits (El Hajj Moulid 1890-1925). -- IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- VII. New aspects of the amghar's power: the prison and the casbah. -- VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- X. The amghar does not possess magic power.

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The amghar of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ has succeeded, thanks to the war of the leffs, in exerting a preponderant influence on the policy of the allied cantons; the amghars and moqaddems of the vicinity come to take his orders, accept his advice, and his renown extends far, well beyond the limit that his military expeditions can reach. Poets begin to celebrate his exploits in the

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*634 "tinoubga" and make known to all his strength and generosity; if
•616 he happens to start fighting with a powerful amghar of the ad-
554 verse leff, he sees Berbères /Berbers/ who have come from fara-
571 way tribes that he scarcely knows arrive at the door of his house.
In the name of the traditional alliances they come spontaneously to bring him their co-operation. Nevertheless, his power is not really established. Still closely attached to the traditions of the republics of the high valleys by the leff bond, he must be careful of his allies, who would abandon him at the first defeat and especially at the first "frida." As long as he has not conquered and made his own the lands of his enemies, his authority will remain precarious and his resources will be reduced to the daily booty of his military expeditions.

175 /301/ I. The amghar of Tagontaft conquers the Asif Nefis
159 (1860-1876). -- To understand clearly the circumstances in which
*634 the fraction amghar can manage to consolidate and extend his
authority, there is no better example to consider than that of Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft, whose progress follows with perfect regularity the successive stages of the power of a Berbère /Berber/ chief.

175 We left this minor amghar at the time when in his minuscule
domain of the Haut-Nefis he had taken command of the leff of
159 the "Aït Iraten" in order to conquer the "Aït Atman" of the val-
*634 ley, at the time when he had just asserted his independence with
616 respect to the kaid of the Ouzgita of Agergour on the Jbel Kik (1).
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1. Cf. above, p. 367.

[648] He is now going to conquer the tribe of the Nefis, and we shall
see him later, aided by his son, succeed in constituting, under the aegis of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one of the large commands of the Atlas.

By his former origins, the kaid of Agergour, whose authority Mohammed n Aït Lhasen was rejecting, belonged to the leff of the "Aït Atman"; the call to revolt issued by the amghar of Tagontaft was therefore certainly to rally all the cantons of the big valley hostile to the Kaid's leff.

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175 big valley hostile to the kaid's leff. In order to make the "Aït
159 Iraten" return to obedience, the kaid Brahim Gergouri made the
*634 usual arrangements in such a case: he solicited and obtained
•616 from the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech the authorization to
726 assemble a "harka" with the co-operation of the old kaid ᶜOmar
648 Touzzalti, governor of the Gedmiwa.

*631 The column constituted by the combatants of the Ouzgita, the Gedmiwa, and by the leff of the "Aït Atman" from the lower course of the Nefis became entangled in the narrow passage that leads to the Tizi n Test by a bad path often confused with the bottom of the river itself. After a stop at Imegdal, where the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/ finished assembling and set up a camp whose traces are still visible, the harka went back up the course of the Oued and arrived in the basin of Tinmel, where the amghar Mohammed had already been established for some years. General pillage of the valley was begun immediately; the hamlets of the "Aït Iraten" were "devoured," but those of the "Aït Atman," in the general disorder of the harka, were not spared either.

Having arrived at Taferghoust, at the entrance to the gorges of the Ogdemt, the /302/ kaids stopped for a moment. The Gontafi could then cleverly negotiate in secret with ᶜOmar Touzzalti, kaid of the Gedmiwa. The order of the Makhzen /makhzan/ was to advance into the mountains up to where they would get to destroy the rebel's house. The amghar then pretended to flee on the south versant of the Atlas, among the Aït Semmeg, and it was made to appear that his dwelling was being demolished. Then ᶜOmar Touzzalti commanded his contingents to withdraw.

A great discussion then arose among the allies. The "Aït Atman" were complaining that the villages of their leff brothers had been destroyed without the harka's having been authorized to devour the "Aït Iraten" of the villages of Tagontaft and Mouldirt, remaining intact amidst the olive trees. The two leffs, "Imsifern" and "Indghertit," of the Gedmiwa then took sides respectively for their natural allies, "Aït Iraten" and "Aït Atman," and soon the melee spread within the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/. At this shameful spectacle, the kaid ᶜOmar Touzzalti, who had

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175 descended to a house in the village of Anebdour and was observ-
159 ing events, jumped on his mule, and, climbing the rough road
*631 of the Tizi n Imiri, he returned most quickly to his casbah in
*634 Amismiz, abandoning the people under his jurisdiction to their
•616 quarrels. The enemies of the Gontafi dispersed in confusion,
726 without succeeding in reducing his prestige.

648 The amghar Mohammed interested himself from then on in pursuing his policy of conquest with the greatest energy. The amghar Bou Naser, of the village of Aghren, of the "Aït Atman," was in flight among the Aït Tadrart of the Sirwa; he was replaced by sheiks at the disposal of the Gontafi; at Taferghoust he likewise named his friend Mohammed n Aït Hasein. Then his indomitable adversary, Mohammed n Aït Ouchefar, of the fraction of Tagemout, quite close to Tagontaft, was driven into the Aghbar and his village occupied by the "Aït Iraten." Thanks to these victories, peace was assured for some years within this little state, conquered by arms, money, and alliances. Moreover, presents sent to the pasha of the casbah of Marrakech, Brahim el Grawi, permitted the hope that the Makhzen /makhzan/ would grant some years of tranquillity to the chief of the Nefis, who did not cease protesting his devotion to the Sultan.

175 Henceforth we see the amghar, free to organize his domain
159 to his liking, reinforcing himself without losing time and construct-
ing casbahs. On the pointed summit of a hill of Tagontaft, the
*634 tribe erects by /303/ "touiza," for the new chief, the great for-
[712] tress that at present bars the valley and whose appearance, both
massive and proud, expresses so well the will and the energy of
the chief who conceived it.

At Tinmel the elder brother of the amghar Mohammed, El
[726] Hajj Mohammed, becomes caliphate and takes possession of the property of the "Aït Atman," whom he drives from their homes and pursues as far as the territory of the Gedmiwa. The little plain of Tinmel, with its fertile lands and its olive groves, so precious in a mountain country where crops are difficult every-
[343] where, furnishes abundant harvests. In order to store the provisions, master masons from the Tifnout come to build a large

/303 cont./
175 storehouse, which is still to be seen: the agadir n Waddar. They
159 are inspired in their plans by the customary arrangement of the
*634 "igherm," or collective storehouses, of their country. Finally,
[343] in the middle of the fields of the "Aït Atman" of Talat n Yaqoub,
[712] left free by the exodus of the conquered, at the entrance to the
Tinmel plain, another casbah begins to rise from the ground, less
warlike than that of Tagontaft, which later will be the favorite
residence of Si Tayeb Gontafi.

175 After this success, prudence counsels the amghar Mohammed
159 not to stir up war again in the fractions of the Nefis and not to
*634 risk thus provoking a new expedition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
Therefore he goes to try to expand preferably toward the south
578 among the Aït Semmeg, whose passes he holds, and in the Onein.
Here, however, a serious difficulty presents itself. The "Aït
175 Iraten," who in the Nefis form the leff of the Gontafi, are the
159 traditional allies of the "Ida ou Zeddagh" of the south versant of
the Atlas (1).
*634

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578 1. Cf. above, p. 239.
•616

Now this leff obeys above all the amghars of the Bazzi family of the Talekjont, who for several years already have been in the service of the Mtougga kaids of Bouaboud. Moreover, the Bazzi have only a very limited authority and are incapable of guiding the politics of the mountain republics. Perhaps it would be cleverer to obtain the co-operation of the adverse leff of the "Aït Zolit." Undoubtedly in the course of the war of the Nefis wadi these last have already come to support the amghar Achefar of Tagemout against Tagontaft; but the amghar Mohammed, made rich by his conquests, can easily find allies everywhere. He is known to be as liberal and generous as he is ardent in combat. Soon the amghar Hajj Mbarek of the Onein brings all his co-operation to the amghar of /304/ Tagontaft in exchange for suitable remuneration. At the same time, the Gontafi is backing the amghar Hijjo, a brave woman who has taken command among the Aït Oumzal in order to protect her infant sons. He also acquires

175 /304 cont./
the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
159 of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.

*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
•616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
[727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit," the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him. The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
*634 mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
648 of kaid.

*631 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
726 kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan, Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mohammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was finding the presents sent to him insufficient. ᶜAli Ben Lhasen of Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marrakech tremble again. This time important contingents were assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ᶜAbdallah Tamachot, who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis, accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/305 cont./
175 them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the
159 plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's
*634 forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ inde-
554 pendence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it,
[778] he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two
[648] leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the
mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived
[616] in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the
marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without com-
[727] bat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the
Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on
the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable
strength of the new chief.

175 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sul-
159 tan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still
*634 more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic clever-
648 ness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured
success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marra-
*631 kech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of
the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the
intervention of the kaid ʿAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the
protection of the marabout Abou ʿAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of
the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded
in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his
part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar
Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen
/makhzen/ (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial. H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

/306 cont./

*634 •616 121 159 The rise and the development of the power of the chief of Tagontaft offer us the most complete example that we can find of a leader who became great by means of the struggle of the two leffs and who succeeded in conquering a fief of which he became the absolute master. We shall not find, in the history of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ in the nineteenth century, other amghars who won such successes solely by the working of the politics of the leffs. Two other chiefs, born in the country of the Seksawa, whose political role we are going to study, did not reach the same degree of power as the Gontafi and have remained up to our day apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/. But we shall nevertheless see them rise like him, by routes a little different, above the institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ canton that limit their first efforts, and little by little free themselves from the servitude of the leffs (2).

[127] [113] 2. We are borrowing this study of the minor chiefs of the Seksawa from the works of F. de la Chapelle, sometimes reproducing the very terms that he employs (Notes inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement du Mtouggi /Unpublished notes on the dissident tribes of the command of the Mtouggi/, 1926; "Un grand caïdat du Sud-Marocain /A great kaidate of the Moroccan South/," Af. française, Oct., 1927, renseignements coloniaux /colonial information/; "La formation du pouvoir monarchique dans les tribus berbères du Haut-Atlas Occidental /The Formation of Monarchic Power in the Berber Tribes of the Western High Atlas/," Hespéris, 1928, pp. 263-285).

175 159 *634 726 II. The amghar Mokhtar Seksawi (1880-1925). -- We have already mentioned how the father of Mokhtar Seksawi, the moqaddem of Awines, /307/ Hammo ou Bella, of the canton of the

/307 cont./

175 Aït Lhasen of the "Imsifern" leff, had, in the reign of Moulay el
159 Hasan, imprudently tried to seize power without first doing away
*634 with his enemies. Then when he was engaged in the conquest of
726 the hostile cantons, he was betrayed by his men and perished a
victim of the hate of the soffs in his own village. It was at this
moment that a notable of the canton of the Aït Mousa, a neighbor
of the Aït Lhasen, Mbarek Chtittihi, son of a former kaid of
the Makhzen /makhzan/, took the title of amghar and came to
the aid of the son of the moqaddem of Awines. The young
Mokhtar, already remarkable for the precocity of his political
thinking, succeeded very quickly, with this support, in driving
away his enemies. His success was such that his benefactor, the
Chtittihi, and another amghar, Ahmed ou Bihi, sheik of the Aït
ᶜAbdallah, were not long in becoming alarmed about it. As a
*[631] matter of fact, the amghar of the Aït Mousa was cherishing ambitious
projects; he had just succeeded in having himself named
kaid and was then extending his influence over the Seksawa fractions
of the high mountains; it was important for his success that
the young chief of the Aït Lhasen remain docilely under his
protection.

[682] Si Mokhtar then had, as we have said, the good fortune of
succeeding in assassinating his unyielding adversaries in the course
of a big repast of reconciliation, which he had presented to the
whole fraction in his rebuilt dwelling. After that victory he immediately
undertook the conquest of the tribe.

We are going to see him henceforth pursue his work with his indefatigable tenacity.

175 First of all he reduces the little nearby "taqbilt" of the Sekrat,
159 of the leff of the "Indghertit," opposed to his own; then since the
Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the same leff, have recognized a new chief, the
*634 kaid Baddoh, whose mission is to do away with Si Mokhtar, at the
726 instigation of the kaid of Bouaboud, the amghar forestalls the designs
•616 of this emissary and has him assassinated. He appears from
then on as a leff chief and rallies around him all the "Imsifern."

175 Threatened by the more and more disturbed Chtittihi, Si
159 Mokhtar does not fear starting a struggle against his former
*634
726

/307 cont./
175 benefactor. He conquers two villages of his "taqbilt" and even
159 builds a house in one of them. But his adversaries use against
*634 him means that he does not hesitate to use himself. One day, he
726 fortunately escapes death in the explosion of an enormous charge
of powder deposited under the upper chamber of the house /308/
where he is to be found with his family. This attempt is the
work of a notable of the country, secretly allied with the
Chtittihi and bribed by the Mtouggi.

175 Si Mokhtar constitutes for himself from then on a dependable
guard furnished by families allied to his; to avoid ambushes, he
159 moves around ceaselessly, without ever saying where he is going. In
*634 his casbah of Bou Taradin, he inspects the sentinels at all hours. He
[625] changes his living habits ceaselessly, and his wives themselves do
[602] not know in advance in which of his houses he will come to sleep.
He no longer lives anywhere but on the second floor, and the
lower room is filled with stone and earth and closed with a padlock (1).

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1. F. de La Chapelle, Hespéris, 1928,
3rd-4th quarter.

175 Amidst this feverish life dominated by fear of betrayal, the
159 amghar keeps an unappeased ambition nonetheless. Thanks to the
incessant dissensions in the leff of the "Indghertit" of the asif of
*634 the Seksawa, Si Mokhtar intervenes more and more as arbitrator,
616 relying on the "Imsifern," who are loyal to him. The troubled
578 circumstances in the mountains favor his projects. The political
situation becomes very complicated in the Atlas at this time, because of the struggle of the kaid Mtouggi against Si Tayeb Gontafi, who has conquered the valleys of the Ogdemt, of the Aghbar, and of the Asif el Mal (1904). During the rivalry of the two great kaids, who are trying to get support in the high mountains among the independent fractions, the leffs are sometimes broken up. But most often the chief of Tagontaft relies on the "Indghertit," while the Mtouggi prefers to seek the co-operation of the "Imsifern." Thus the Chtittihi becomes the ally of the Gontafi, Si Mokhtar that of the Mtouggi.

/308 cont./

175 In 1907, when the Gontafi's party succumbs before the coa-
159 lition of the Mtougga and the Glawa, the struggle becomes more
*634 intense. Each of the two amghars tries to have his rival assassi-
578 nated. The Chtittihi sends one of his friends, Mohammed ou
[682] Hammo, to Si Mokhtar's, giving him the mission of killing him
by treachery; but the amghar of the Aït Lhasen succeeds in
seducing the emissary, and in the night, when the Chtittihi approaches to hear the news of the murder of his enemy, it is he himself who falls under the dagger of Mohammed ou Hammo. For this master stroke the assassin is loaded with favors, and later he will receive the granddaughter of Si Mokhtar in marriage.
The drama has hardly been performed /map appears here/ /309/
[726] when the Aït Mousa are attacked; their territory is conquered;
[712] the Chtittihi"s villages are razed, and in the middle of his ad-
versary's fields the conquering amghar erects a command-house,
which makes his victory definitive.

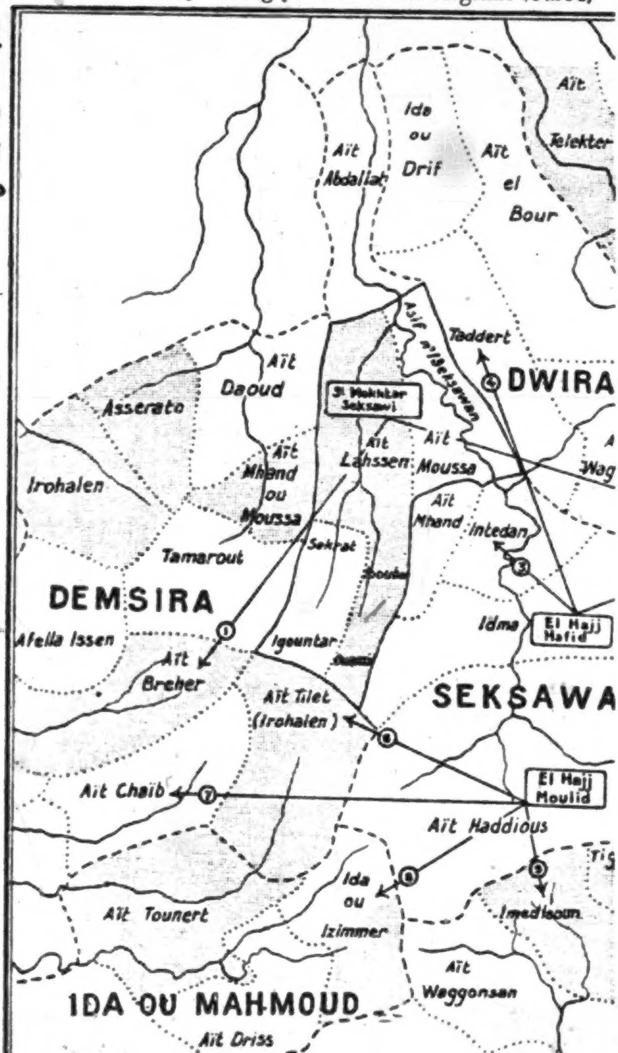
175 Si Mokhtar's ambition is not yet satisfied. In 1908, when
the amghar of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, Ahmed ou Bihi, betrays the
159 cause of the Mtouggi at one time, Si Mokhtar invades his terri-
*634 tory and annexes it to his possessions. But at that moment the
631 successes of Si Mokhtar, the cleverness of his policy, the influ-
578 ence he has won over the montagnards of the Seksawa, make him
suspect to the kaid of Bouaboud. It is then that the amghar parts
726 company with the great chiefs, from whom he has nothing more
•616 to expect. He goes to regain his full liberty, to renew alliances
in the leff of the "Imsifern," which he has sometimes had to neglect in the preceding years. At the end of his life, Si Mokhtar succeeds both in fomenting among the Aït Wadouz, of his leff, revolt against Bouaboud and in protecting the dissident "Imsifern" from the Demsira. Some months before his death he finally takes over the nearby fraction of the Igountar, whom he annexes to his command, detaching them from the leff of the "Indghertit."

175 By the organization of his command, Si Mokhtar Seksawi,
159 who remained independent in his casbah of Bou Taradin to the
*631 end of his life, took on the air of a true kaid, for which he
*634

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 409]

/Left side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616


Aït Telekter
Ida ou Drif
Aït Abdallah
Aït el Bour
Asif n'Seksawen
Taddert
DWIRA
Aït Daoud
Si Mokhtar Seksawi
Asserato
Aït Lahssen
Aït Moussa
Aït Mhand ou Moussa
Irohalen
Wag
Aït Mhand
Intedan
Tamarout
Sekrat
Soubar
DEMSIRA
Idma
El Hajj Hafid
Afella Issen
Igountar
Aït Breher
Aït Tilet (Irohalen)
SEKSAWA
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Chaïb
Aït Haddious
Ida ou Izimmer
Imedlioun
Aït Tounert
Aït Waggonsan
IDA OU MAHMOUD
Aït Driss
Ichkajen
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/Center portion of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

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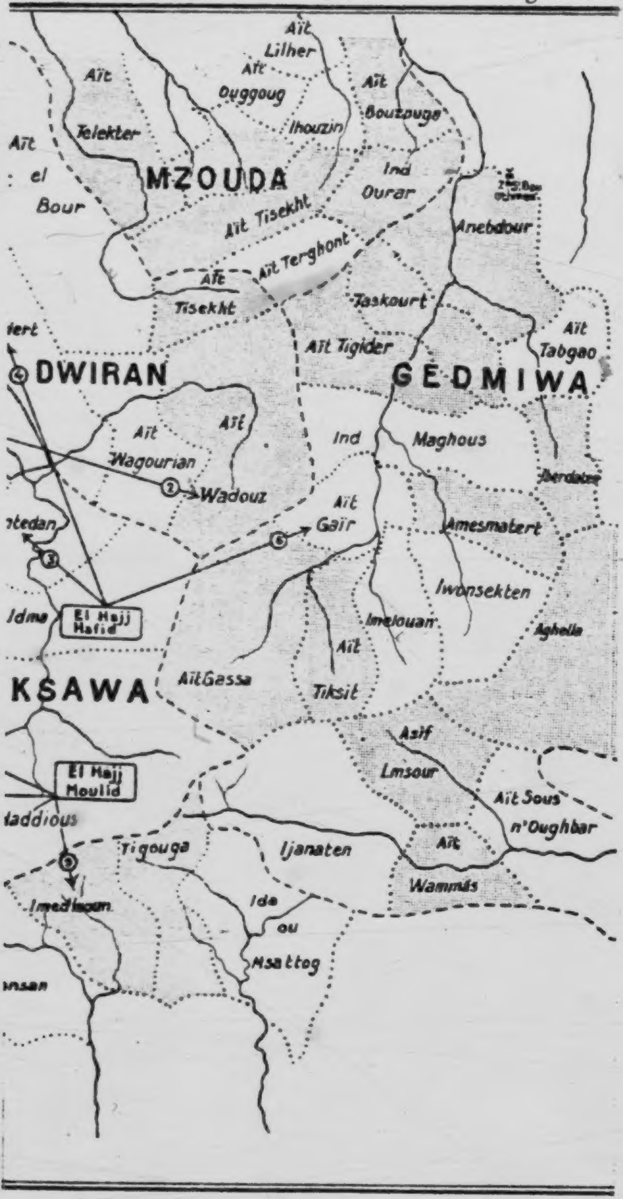
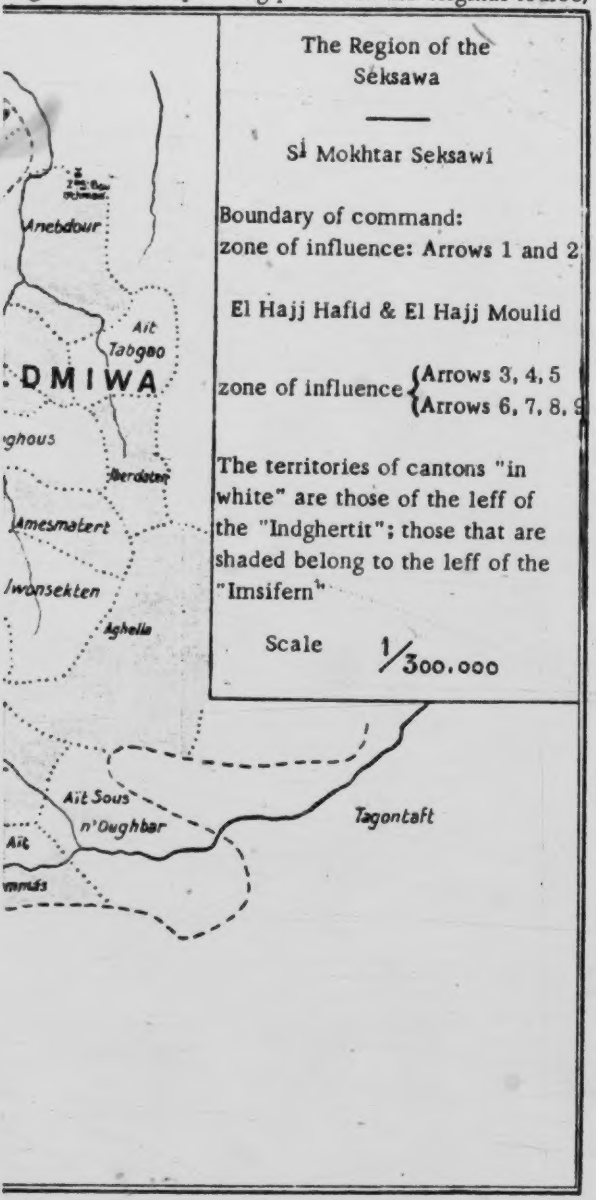

Aït Lilher
Aït Telekter
Aït Ouggoug
Ihouzin
Aït Bouzouga
Aït el Bour
MZOUDA
Ind Ourar
Anebdour
Aït Tisekht
Aït Terghont
Aït Tisekht
Taskourt
Aït Tabgao
tert
DWIRAN
Aït Tigider
GEDMIWA
Aït Wagourian
Aït
Ind
Maghous
Wadouz
Iberdaten
Aït Gaïr
atedan
Amesmatert
Iwonsekten
Idma
El Hajj Hafid
Imelouan
Aghella
Aït Tiksit
KSAWA
AïtGassa
Asif Lmsour
El Hajj Moulid
Aït Sous n'Oughbar
laddious
Tigouga
Ijanaten
Aït Wammas
Imedlaoun
Ida ou Msattog
msan

/Right side of map facing p. 308 in the original source/

102
131
133
*634
•616


Anebdour
Ait Tabgao
DMIWA
ghous
Berdaten
Amesmatert
Iwansekten
Aghella
Ait Sous n'Oughbar
Tagontaft
Ait
mmás

The Region of the
Seksawa

Si Mokhtar Seksawi

Boundary of command:
zone of influence: Arrows 1 and 2

El Hajj Hafid & El Hajj Moulid

zone of influence {Arrows 3, 4, 5
{Arrows 6, 7, 8, 9

The territories of cantons "in white" are those of the leff of the "Indghertit"; those that are shaded belong to the leff of the "Imsifern"

Scale 1/300.000

/309 cont./

175 lacked only the official recognition of the Makhzen /makhzan/.
159 His oumana /plural of amin, ameen/ collected the "zekkat" and
*631 the "ᶜachour" for him. In the "taqbilt" of his leff, he designates
*634 the moqaddems and the Aït arbaᶜin. In the conquered lands belonging to the adverse leff, his authority is often exercised in a more absolute manner through the agency of sheiks whom he imposes. Again, as at Tagontaft, the guards and confidential men are chosen from around the natal hamlet of the amghar, among the families of his companions from the first hour. Just as at Tinmel, conquered by the amghar of Tagontaft, the "Aït Atman" have all been expelled from the country, likewise here in the canton of the defeated Aït Mousa, all the former villages are devastated and the inhabitants scattered in the Marrakech plain. Their lands, having remained fallow, are little by little cultivated for the profit of the amghar; the definitive occupation of the country of the Aït Mousa is marked by the construction of a residence at Tabia, while Tigemmi Igiz, the Chtittihi's village, is completely deserted.

/310/ III. A little State of the summits (El Hajj Moulid
*634 1890-1925). -- In this same region of the Seksawa, where several
[178] independent amghars exist to our day, we are going to find another example of development of personal power which to a certain extent is opposite that of the chiefs of Tagontaft and of Bou Taradin.

*634 When one leaves the country of Mokhtar Seksawi by going back up the valley of the Seksawa toward the Tichka, one finds
• 616 first of all the dwelling of the amghar El Hajj Hafid, this chief of the leff of the "Indghertit" whose origin and fortune we have studied (1). He is, in truth, only a war leader enfeoffed to his alliances and who cannot be compared with his powerful neighbor of the Aït Lhasen, master of a little state composed of cantons of the two parties, conquered by force, ruse, and betrayal. But still nearer

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1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 367.

/310 cont./
*634 the summits appears another amghar, El Hajj Moulid, of the Aït
616 Haddiyous, who has succeeded in establishing a kind of pacific
hegemony over the independent "taqbilt" of the high mountains,
and whose authority, solidly established in the cantons of the two
leffs, can nevertheless be compared with that of the amghars
Mohammed n Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft and Mokhtar Seksawi.

175 In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Aït Haddiyous
*634 formed a group of three little cantons administered by moqad-
616 dems; they had kept from the glorious traditions of the amghars
726 of the thirteenth century, their ancestors, only a great combativeness and a particular passion for intervening in the struggle of the leffs. During the first half of the century, they had formed the natural clientele of an independent amghar of the Asif el Mal, established at Adassil of the Ind Maghous, Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, whom they supported in his war against the kaid of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at Amismiz in the name of the brotherhood of the "Indghertit." Later they had helped his nephew and successor, Si Haddouch, to subjugate two "taqbilt" of the high valleys, the Amesmatert and the Iwonsekten, who had tried to free themselves from his domination. Then, little by little, the Seksawa of the high valleys had held themselves apart from external wars and had reserved their forces for the combats that were waged within their own tribe.

*[631] At the time when, under the pressure of the great chiefs of the vicinity, /311/ the regime of the amghars was beginning to appear in a large number of "taqbilt," until then remaining attached to the oligarchic regime, a moqaddem from Tassa, El Hajj Moulid n Aït el Bazz, of modest origin, succeeded in imposing himself upon the various families of his canton. This small revolution had an original character, which explains the consequence of the development of the power of the Aït el Bazz; in this fraction, which passed for one of the most valorous of the leff of the "Indghertit," it was "Imsifern" of the vicinity, coming especially from the Ida Ou Zimmer, who took part for El Hajj Moulid and enabled him to kill the family heads who were opposed to the development of his authority.

/312 cont./

175 *634 159 554 their wishes to him" (1).

1. Unpublished notes of F. de La Chapelle.

[431] In the eyes of the Seksawa, in the general poverty of the country, this liberality united with his authority suffices to make him a true tribal chief in spite of the modest aspect of his dwelling.

Here without doubt politics played a much more important [178] role than war. So the organization of the amghar's power has remained closer to former customs. Ahmed Ou Moulid respects his subjects' rights and contents himself with his own lands and his flocks; some plowing corvées, guards for his sheep, and sometimes a "touiza" for the building of a house, that is all that the last chief of the independent mountains asks in order to exercise his protection over the "taqbilt" of the high valleys.

*631 *634 619 •616 We have said that Ahmed Ou Moulid had dreamed of uniting the "taqbilt" that in former times constituted the Genfisa, in order to form a confederation whose politics he would have guided. If that project had been realized, it would have been the sanction of the patient efforts of the family of the Aït el Bazz to unite the small states scattered around the high summits and to constitute, in the name of the common interest, a true tribe made up of cantons of the two leffs.

*634 616 121 648 IV. The amghars of the Ind Maghous (1840-1880). -- A last example, an earlier one, chosen in the country of the mountain Gedmiwa, will show us how the authority of the amghars over the "taqbilt" of the two leffs is exercised more easily when it appeals to the sentiments of independence with regard to the Makhzen /makhzan/, while, on the contrary, it tends to disappear as soon as the minor chief receives the sanction of the Sultan.

*634 133 At the meeting point of a number of mountain streams that come down from the Igdad to form the Asif el Mal, the little plain of the Ind /313/ Maghous with its rich crops of olive trees, its few plowed lands, and its irrigated gardens constitutes a little natural center, the possession of which facilitates control of local politics. An amghar established at this point watches over all the

/313 cont./

*634 communications of the high mountain with the plain, and he can,
[133] if he likes, play the profitable role of "concierge of the valleys"
(1).

1. Brives, Voyages au Maroc /Travels in Morocco/.

[173] Tradition tells that in former times the Makhzen /makhzan/ had
powerful casbahs in this country; perhaps it is necessary to seek in
[648] these legends the recollection of the fortresses of the Ibn Sad
[712] Allah, the great chiefs of the Gedmiwa in the thirteenth century.
*[631] It is asserted at least that the sultan Moulay Hicham was born in
the middle of the eighteenth century in the casbah of Adassil.

175 However it may be for the distant past, the anarchy of
*634 Moulay Sliman's reign had given the montagnards of the Asif el
Mal their liberty again, and in the reign of Moulay ᶜAbderrah-
159 man, a powerful amghar, Mohammed ben Brahim, dominated the minor sheiks of the vicinity. He belonged to the family of the Aït Qaïd ᶜAli, who had, it is said, now in the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, now in independence, commanded the mountain and the valley for several generations. The amghar's authority came to him only by his own strength. Supported by the strong "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous, he commanded, moreover, the neighboring cant[illegible] that he had subjugated; they were the Aït Tabgao, the Iberdaten, the Erdouz, the Anougal, Annerni.

By means of his casbah built at Tagadirt, at a point that bars
[712] the valley of the Aït Gaïr, he held the mountain of the Igdad.
•[616] Finally, his powerful leff, that of the "Indghertit," procured for
him in all circumstances the co-operation of the Seksawa warriors.

175 Entering in 1843 the struggle against the kaid ᶜOmar Touz-
zalti, established at Amismiz, the amghar Mohammed first of
*634 all routed the makhzen /makhzan/ chief in the valley of the Asif
726 el Mal, as the amghar of Tagontaft was to do later in the Nefis,
*631 at grips with his kaid of the Jbel Kik. But in the long run the
159

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then
assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mej-
jat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/
repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain
"Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the
summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[776] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali,"
in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back
to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden
under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar
took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the
searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf,"
which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house
of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
726 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
*616 Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom.
[248] After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and de-
clared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the
amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his for-
tress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

/314 cont./
175 of the mountains, intervening in the struggles of the Aït Gassa
159 and the Aït Tiksit of the leff of the "Imsifern"; at the same time
*634 he obliged his leff, sometimes indocile, to follow his policy by
726 closing to the independents the markets and routes of access.
•616 When the old chief died, his nephew Si Haddouch succeeded him.
Immediately the "Imsifern" of the fraction of the Amesmatert
tried to regain their independence with the support of the
Iwonsekten (1).

1. Cf: Book II, Ch. III, p. 245.

175 Haddouch then solicited from the Makhzen /makhzan/ the
159 title of kaid. He obtained, with much difficulty, only the com-
*631 mand of his /315/ "taqbilt" of the Ind Maghous. The kaid of the
*634 Mzouda, consulted by Moulay el Hasan on the interest that the
554 conferment of the title of kaid on the amghar of the Ind Maghous
[648] presented, gave the following reply: "He is a reliable man; his
heart is good, but his house is too near the mountains; it is not
suitable for a kaid of the Makhzen."

175 Si Hammo, brother of Si Haddouch, took the command in
159 his turn in 1879, but the definitive rallying of this family to the
Makhzen /makhzan/ had procured for the amghar of the Ind
*634 Maghous the complete loss of his authority in his mountain leff.
616 Aït Gaïr, Imelwan, Idma, and Intedan, all "Indghertit," how-
726 ever, united to drive him away. The Aït Haddiyous, still faith-
[648] ful to the memory of the amghar Mohammed, came to restore
him; but soon, making alliance for the occasion with the "Imsifern" of the vicinity, enemies of the amghars of Adasil, they pillaged and destroyed the casbah of Tagadirt, which closed off the valley. It was the end of the power of the Ind Maghous. As long as they had represented Berbère /Berber/ independence in the eyes of the montagnards, they had received the fullest support of their leff brothers of the high valleys and had in this way succeeded in dominating the adverse leff. Having definitively
[648] entered the Sultan's service, they were, on the contrary, to lose
all support among the "Indghertit" remaining free and were soon to see the subject "Imsifern" rebel against them.

·/315 cont./

*631 V. The minor chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit. -- The study of
*634 the politics of the chiefs of the Aït Waouzgit of the Sirwa is not
as simple as that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, for the leffs of
●616 this region are less stable and more broken; and perhaps their
lines of rupture are explained by the quarrels of the amghars established around the Sirwa for several centuries (1).

1. Cf. above, Book II, Ch. III, p. 252.

[184] Without entering here into a detailed study of these small commands, whose origins, moreover, are still poorly known, it will suffice for us, by indicating their importance, to show that the position of these chiefs with respect to the tribes is identical with that of their rivals of the Atlas properly speaking.

175 In the reign of Sidi Mohammed and of Moulay el Hasan,
*631 semi-independent minor chiefs who are /316/ the true masters
of the Feija appear (1).

[131] 1. By this name of Feija, in the mouths of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/, one should understand the whole steppe that extends between the south versant of the Atlas and the desert, beyond the Warzazat. But, within the country, the term of Feija designates only the plain neighboring the Zenaga.

We know very few things about the constitution of their command.
*[634] It is certain only that the Zanifi, amghar of Tazenakht, dominated the cantons of both leffs.
[616] In 1864, however, he was thrown into prison by the Sultan, who had led an expedition against him,
[648] in which most of the Masmoudian tribes and their kaids participated; it was then that the kaid of the Glawa received at intervals the mission of going to collect the tax at the head of the harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, sharing this charge with the kaids of Demnat.

/316 cont./

175 When de Foucauld crossed the country in 1883, he was again
*634 able to find the small state of Tazenakht intact and in all its
• 616 strength; the enumeration that he gives of the cantons that then
constituted it shows us that the leffs of the "Inemzel" and of the
"Aït Iraten," those of the "Aït Atman" and "Aït Tintlet," of the
"Isouktan" and of the "Igezzoulen" were equally represented
there. The amghar ʿAbd el Wahad, who exercised command in
concert with his brother Ahmed Ben Chikh Mohammed, then
pass[illegible], with the kaid Gontafi and the sherif Sidi Hosein Ben
Hachem of the Tazerwalt, for one of the richest men in all the
South. He could raise 1,200 guns and cope with the chief of
Telwet (2).

2. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, p. 106.

175 After the death of Moulay el Hasan, when the Glawa under-
*634 took the conquest of the Aït Waouzgit, they again found the
726 Zanifi as enemy; defeated in the first combats, this chief soon
[558] lost all prestige and in our day the power of the amghars of this
country is no longer anything but a memory. But at that very
[178] moment another chief, the amghar ʿAli of Tamdakht, was in his
turn, with the support of the Aït Waouzgit of the two leffs
"Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten," to construct a powerful casbah and
stop the Telwet kaids' march toward the South for several years.

*631 The strength of these minor chiefs, capable of uniting the
*634 hostile parties under the same government, seems to us to have
554 resided especially in their prestige as amghars hostile to the
Makhzen /makhzan/, like the chiefs of the Ind Maghous and the
648 Aït Haddiyous among the Gedmiwa and the Seksawa.

*631 There also exists among the Aït Tadrat of the Sirwa another
family /317/ as old, they say, as that of the Zanifi. For at least
*634 five generations the Ihebban, established at Aoullous, exercised
175 the command of the Aït Tadrart before the conquest of the Glawa,
616 relying on the leff of the "Igezzoulen." But the adverse cantons
of the leff of the "Isouktan" were also accepting their domination.
[178] The authority of that family, in former times an enemy of the one

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
• 616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests."

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/317 cont./

*634 remains constrained to enter the service of the great kaid nearby
*631 or of the caliphates of the Sultan; this was done by El Hajj Hafid
648 of the Idma and by the heads of the family of the Aït Bacha of Taberbourt, in the tribe of the Aït /318/ Semmeg, who went into the service of the Gontafi; and the amghars of Talemt and Talekjont, who rallied to the pasha of Taroudant, to the Mtouggi, and to the Gontafi (1).

1. Cf. Book III, Ch. I, p. 371.

*634 For the amghar to succeed in freeing himself and fully using
•616 his liberty, he must, on the contrary, succeed in dominating at the same time the two leffs of the mountains, whether he incorporates the enemy cantons into his command by main strength or whether his independent attitude toward the Makhzen /makhzan/ in the parts of the country remaining mistresses of their fate makes him the defender of liberty. Moreover, he often attains this goal only imperfectly, whatever may be the energy or cleverness displayed. Sometimes the amghar stays bound, in spite of his efforts, to his first alliances; his domination is exercised successfully, thanks to his strength, on the fractions of the adverse leff, but it lacks solidity and disappears as soon as he weakens; soon no more than his own leff, diminished by defeats or political mistakes, remains to him; such was the situation of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Qaid ᶜAli, at Adasil of the Ind Maghous, and of his successors named kaids by the Sultan. But other chiefs, such as El Hajj Moulid of the Aït Haddiyous, develop easily in the midst of political divisions for which they become the arbitrators. Nevertheless their resources still remain insufficient to permit them to escape all the traditional rules. The strongest, like Si Mokhtar Seksawi and the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft, are the ones who take over the fractions of the enemy leff, after having killed the hostile amghars and confiscating their property; they put the inhabitants to flight and build their houses in these lands of conquest, which become what we have sometimes called their "fiefs." By these means they acquire possession of

/318 cont./

*634 independent revenues, which they use freely. Here they are,
•616 finally having become veritable tribal chiefs, masters of small states with precise boundaries; their territory is moreover surrounded by a zone of influence extending especially, thanks to ancient friendships, into their leff of origin.

*634 It is only then that the amghar has truly established his per-
554 sonal power; henceforth he rises above the ancient institutions, dominates the tribe, and, if he likes, becomes acquainted with the pleasures of fortune.

*634 VII. New aspects of the power of the amghar: the prison
342 and the /319/ casbah. -- At this time two innovations mark the victory won over the Berbère /Berber/ traditions: the construc-
712 tion of a casbah and the laying out of a prison. Up to then the
178 house of the amghar, chief of the canton, was established in the village; although it was adorned with borjs and whitewashed, it still recalled, by its position and arrangement, the humbler dwelling of the clan chief of the past. At present it is a fortress specially erected on an isolated hill, like Tagontaft, Adasil of the Ind Maghous, or Aoullous of the Ihebban in the Sirwa. Often it is even built in the midst of lands gained from a soff or leff enemy. Doubtless in the choice of a place apart from the village is to be seen the desire to occupy an important point from where one commands the valley and which lends itself easily at the same time to defense against an enemy coming from the outside; but at the same time the wish to separate the chief from his subjects is thus manifest.

*634 As for the prison, it, still more than the fortress, is an index
697 of important changes in the life of the country; its presence indi-
178 cates to us that the chief is henceforth above the laws of the tribe, to which he is no longer accountable for his actions: one enters his jail when he likes; one leaves it when God wishes it.

*634 Thus solidly established in a fortress with crenelated towers,
152 provided with a redoubtable prison, the amghar can know rest. But often, too, the ambition that impelled him to win this high
[648] rank becomes an insatiable passion. If the country is screened from the surveillance of the Makhzen /makhzan/ or if other

/319 cont./
*634 circumstances favor the policies of the hostile heads of the assem-
152 blies, new undertakings become possible. The amghar's tribe of
648 origin has its share of these new gains, and the small state does
not cease growing. Having arrived at that degree of importance,
he no longer lacks anything but the recognition of his power by
*[631] the Sultan. The amghar of Tagontaft and Si Mokhtar Seksawi
cleared all these stages in 20 years and became veritable kaids
without the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

*634 VIII. The decline of the leffs. -- Whether the amghar man-
•616 ages to defeat one leff by means of the other, or whether he suc-
178 ceeds, thanks to clever politics, in conciliating the two, it is the
forces brought to him by traditional alliances that establish his
power. What becomes of them after his success?

During the period of conquest the policy of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs /320/ is almost entirely dominated by the traditional alliances of the "taqbilt." But when the casbahs are built on the enemy's lands, the amghars, freed to a certain extent from current rules, overturn external alliances as they please, as we have seen. In the leffs of the tribes to subdue, they see no more than fracture lines in a block to be taken apart. Little by little, thanks to their efforts, even the ancient conception of the canton alliances is effaced in the minds of the montagnards and disappears before the new reality, which is the party of a great chief.

The decline of the leffs then proceeds rapidly, and the suc-
*634 cessive stages of it are easily distinguished; first it is the "amqon
*631 n mokahelt," the combat leff, constituted outside the ancient
616 rules by fractions linked together by circumstances, as we have
178 observed in the Tifnout (1);

1. Book III, Ch. I, pp. 377-378.

then the alliance of the minor amghars with a more powerful chief, each of them bringing the warriors of his command into the fight, without distinction as to origin; finally, the party of the great chief is definitively formed, often at the price of complete upsets of alliances, as we have seen in the Gontafi's

/320 cont./

*634 *631 •616 178 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the opposed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the masters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 121 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? -- In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 121 182 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an important role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Ma^ccho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

/327 cont./

175 I. The first kaid of Tagontaft (1876-1888 /sic/). -- We
*631 have studied at length the first stages of the formation and devel-
*634 opment of the power of the amghar of Tagontaft, originally a
159 simple canton sheik, then chief of a bellicose leff, finally
master of the tribe of the Nefis wadi, which he managed to conquer with his own forces.

The independent career of the chief of Tagontaft had, from then on, reached its limit; in Moulay el Hasan's reign, the time when a brave amghar favored by the fortune of arms can, in the high mountains, make himself independent of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and take up again the tradition of the minor chiefs of the Middle Ages by adorning himself with the Berbère /Berber/ title of "agellid" is no more.

/328/ So in 1876 we see the amghar Mohammed, happy but
[648] uneasy about his victory over the contingents of the tribes guided by the kaids of the vicinity, humbly solicit the recognition of his power by the sovereign. Named kaid in his turn, having even become by that similar to the minor chiefs whose fortresses rise at the foot of the Dir and whom he has fought up to the present, the amghar enters with his tribes into the common tradition; soon his son Tayeb Gontafi will become the rival of two other kaids whose origins are less closely bound up with the working of Berbère /Berber/ politics and who became important only with the support of the Sultan: the Mtouggi and the Glawi.

There nevertheless existed, at the time when Moulay el
175 Hasan recognized the new kaid, an obstacle to his freedom,
*631 which left him in a marked state of inferiority with respect to
*634 the other chiefs of tribes: free communication with the "Azaghar"
159 of Marrakech remained closed to him. Actually, his conquests
extended toward the North as far as Tinisk, which possessed an
•616 amghar from his leff. But beyond, the passage was cut off by the
726 montagnards of the Asif n Tinkert, convinced "Aït Atman," who harbored toward the "Aït Iraten," their hereditary leff enemies, a hatred that the recent events of the Nefis had revived again. Still farther, toward the plain, the village of Tagadirt n Bour, placed at a narrowing of the valley, formed a natural fortress that assured for its chief the control of communications. The amghar

/328 cont./
175 of Tagadirt n Bour, secretly favorable to the Gontafi, nevertheless
*631 was afraid to open his gates to him for fear of his subjects from the
*634 leff of the "Aït Atman." In order to avoid a new war in the Nefis,
159 which would doubtless have dangerously attracted the attention of
the Sultan, the amghar Mohammed assembled a small harka at
•616 Talat n Yaqoub, where his new residence was to be found, led it in
726 secret on Amismiz by way of the Tizi n Imiri, and traveled by
night on the Dir of the Gedmiwa. Having thus turned position, he
came to take possession of Tagadirt n Bour by surprise from the
North. Family alliances sealed the union of the sheik of Tagadirt
[712] n Bour and the kaid, and a solid casbah was built to close the valley.
This fortress marked for a time the extreme limit toward the
North of the territory of the chiefs of Tagontaft. It was the last
expedition of the kaid Mohammed, who died shortly afterwards
and was replaced by his son Si Tayeb (1883).

The young kaid, already prepared to exercise power by the role that he /329/ had played for several years, took command resolutely. He tightened the alliances in the mountains, equipped the little band of mercenaries that his father had left him, and waited for the Sultan's death in order to act.

175 II. The beginnings of the kaids of Telwet (1858-1894). --
*631 Several years later, about 1886, Si el Madani Glawi at Telwet
*634 also received his inheritance from his father, the amghar
Mohammed Ibibat.

Although the history of the first years of the acquisition of power by the chiefs of the Glawa is less well known to us than that by the amghars of the Nefis, many events that happened between 1855 and 1880 still remaining hidden by these kaids as if they were dangerous to divulge, what we know about the origins of the chiefs of Telwet suffices for us to understand how they succeeded in dominating the tribes.

From the first years the authority of the amghars of the Glawa is closely associated with the penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, so that the first stages of their accession to power cannot be exactly compared with those of the amghars of the Nefis.

/329 cont./

175 In the reign of Moulay ʿAbd er Rahman, the amghar Ahmed
*631 el Mezwari had exercised the functions of sheik at Telwet under
the same conditions as Si Ahmed n Ait Lhasen, the fqih of Tagon-
*634 taft on the Nefis. His family was perhaps related to that of the
Imzwarn, who had given powerful chiefs to the region of the Dra
in the sixteenth century; but the memory of those great lords,
who formerly sent missions to Fez in the time of Léon l'Africain
/Leo Africanus/ and contested the alliance with the Portuguese
of Agadir, was completely lost (1).

[113] 1. On the Mezwar of the Dra, cf. above, p. 115.

[173] The chiefs of Telwet regard themselves as the descendants of Abou Mohammed Salah, patron saint of Safi, personage of Berbère /Berber/ origin from the tribe of the Doukkala, fraction of the Beni Mager, died about 1233 (cf. Michaux-Bellaire, Les Confréries religieuses au Maroc /The Religious Brotherhoods in Morocco/, pp. 44-45, and G.-S. Colin, "Maqsad," Archives marocaines, Vol. XXVI, p. 92).

175 The sheik of Telwet was then only a marabout, living off the
*631 "ziara" and modestly working a salt mine. Driven from his can-
*634 ton after a soff quarrel, he took refuge in the nearby valley of
159 Ouneila. In this exile there was born to him a son, Mohammed,
578 who had a difficult youth and, like his father, carried on the salt
trade. But having reached the age of manhood, Mohammed took
back, with the aid of some families of the Ouneila, the authority
that his father had formerly had. He succeeded in defeating a
•[616] rival /330/ in his tribe, the amghar Ahmed ben Hajj Mohammed
of Taghennoust, and extended his influence over three Glawa
"khoms" belonging to his leff of the "Inemzel," which is also
called, on the north versant of the Atlas, the leff of the "Aït
000 Fademt." The favor of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of Marrakech

The favor of the
175 /330 cont./ Makhzen /Makhzan/ of Marrakech
*631 soon earned for the amghar Mohammed the command of the
*634 whole tribe (1858), previously placed under the control of an
159 Arab kaid of the plain, El Hachmi Ez Zemrani; later, in 1864,
when the kaid Azerwal Er Rehamani, another Arab leader,
[648] charged with collecting taxes south of the Atlas in the name of
the Sultan, had fallen in disgrace, the amghar Mohammed, who was surnamed Ibibat, "the little sparrow," immediately became his successor. As we have said, it was he who took the leadership of the contingents of the Aït Waouzgit and Glawa at the time of the big harka of Tagontaft in 1875, and we have seen that he facilitated the success of his rival of the Nefis instead of attacking his villages. Although he dominated the tribes of the south versant of the Atlas at times, his authority was nevertheless always limited by that of the kaids of Demnat, who exerted their influence over the country of the Imeghran and the Dadès; a son of Azerwal er Rahamani moreover obtained at intervals the command of the Feija, so that at the time of Foucauld's passing through, in 1883, the kaid of the Glawa did not stand out from the other minor chiefs of the vicinity, and his name ceased to be respected as soon as one arrived in the neighborhood of the casbahs of the Haut-Dra /Upper Dra/ (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissances, p. 18.

175 During this period, whatever the personal power of the
159 amghar Ibibat might be in the tribe of the Glawa, his prestige
outside thus depends above all on the Sultan's favor, which is
*631 divided between him and his rivals of the Marrakech plain.
*634 Moreover, in this part of the Atlas the war of the leffs does not
•616 seem to play a role comparable to that of the rivalry of the "Aït
Atman" and the "Aït Iraten" around Tagontaft and Tinmel. Ac-
578 tually, it happens that on the south versant of the Atlas the
[648] struggle of the two leffs "Inemzel" and "Aït Iraten" is complicated
by the rivalry of the minor chiefs, among whom the most active are those of the Aït Zineb and the Aït Tammast, of the family of the Aït ben Haddo of Tamedakht, of the ones of the Warzazat, the

175 /330 cont./
159 Aït ben ᶜAli, and especially the hereditary amghars of the Mes-
*631 gita of Tamenougalt and of Tazenakht of the Aït ᶜAmer.

*634 /331/ The tribal politics of the chief of Telwet then is
•616 dominated by his alliance with the notables of the Ouneila, of
the leff of the "Aït Iraten" opposed to the one of his country of
578 origin. They help him to maintain himself among the Glawa and, in spite of some passing dissensions, give him their co-operation in order to dominate the neighboring tribes; up to our day we shall see them contribute to the great kaid caliphates, chiefs of harkas, and mokhaznis, with which the subject countries are exploited, and the care with which they build their comfortable houses in their poor valley shows well enough that the government of the domains of the Glawa procures some profits for these intermediaries.

175 In difficult circumstances at the beginning, with a power still
159 poorly established, an authority that varies according to whether
the support of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is acquired or withdrawn,
*631 the amghar Mohammed Ibibat at least succeeds in two lasting
*634 enterprises: he builds a solid casbah at Telwet, and attaches his
[712] family, by a lasting alliance, to the minor chiefs of the Warzazat, friends of the Ouneila. The casbah of Taourirt in the district of the Warzazat, well placed to command both the passage of the Haut-Dra and the Dadès, will serve as base for the military action led later against the amghar Mohammed Zanifi of Tazenakht, whose power and wealth have been famous in the South since the end of Moulay el Hasan's reign (1).

1. De Foucauld, Reconnaissance, pp. 106-107.

When Si el Madani takes over the succession from his father about 1886, the conquest of the Feija has not yet begun; rather, the young leader tries to fight the tribes of the North and to reach the good lands at the foot of the Atlas. But a repulse among the
[712] Zemran and doubtless also the fear of putting the Makhzen /makhzan/ on guard stop him in his projects; he contents himself with building the casbah of Tazert, which will protect his command

*634 /345 cont./
*631 makhzen /makhzan/ leader only new burdens. In order to equip
652 his mokhaznis, supply them with arms, buy the complicity of
[648] the minor chiefs of the vicinity, and struggle at the court of the
[701] Makhzen against the dangerous influences of the nearby great
chiefs by distributing considerable sums to the great ones, new
resources are always needed. It is then necessary to impose on
[651] the tribes extraordinary contributions, "frida," to buy the lands
[728] from the ruined inhabitants or, better, to confiscate them, when
villages have been destroyed and the families exiled. Hundreds
[567] of slaves are bought to cultivate these abandoned fields. The
retinue of the house does not cease to grow. In proportion as the
importance of the domains and of the command increases, the
intermediaries also become more and more numerous, the harvests and the taxes melt away in their hands, and the chief receives no more than a small part of them.

[619] With an ever-increasing ambition, the kaid then tries to get,
[661] by force or by intrigue, to establish himself in the richest tribes
in the vicinity, while the ruin of the ones that he already commands is consummated.

[466] Corvées, taxes, and fines are multiplied indeed, and, in
[651] order to find the money required by the mokhaznis, the peasants
[681] come to the casbah to sell their unripe harvests, their almonds in
bloom, and to pawn their fields. Against the urgent necessity of
[571] finding resources, no consideration can hold if it is not that of
keeping intact the very organization of the command by treating
[557] with respect the few families whose fate is bound up with that of
the kaid. So the great concern of the chief is to acquire goods by
every means. If this regime could continue /346/ to endure, the
kaid, with his brothers, would come to possess all the lands of
the country.

*634 Doubtless in the beginning preferential treatment is still re-
*631 served in the Asif Nefis for the "Aït Iraten," among whom the
•616. Gontafi found so many allies; but later, when the memory of the
652 institution of the leffs is almost lost, after 40 years of internal
178 peace, the friendly cantons of the past will end up by being sub-
557 ject to the common regime of the "frida" and corvées. Only the

557
*634 /346 cont./
*631 families who have entered the service of the new power will keep
•616 their exemptions and maintain some ease in the general poverty.

652 In other commands, among the Mtougga, for example, the
178 notables of the kaid's tribe utilized in the administration and the
184 government of the conquered regions often get the title of amghar
*631 in their own village. They command only members of their
*634 family, but thanks to their rank as amghar they avoid, for the
557 extraordinary contributions, being subject to the ruinous agency
554 of the caliphates and mokhaznis and deal directly with the great
chief. Among the Glawa, certain cantons remain privileged be-
184 cause they still furnish in great number minor chiefs and contin-
*631 gents in charge of keeping the distant tribes under the yoke.
*634 These missions abroad are rather profitable besides, and one thus
662 sees poor valleys, like that of the Ouneila, associated from the
first with the fortune of the master of Telwet, adorned with hand-
some dwellings. Their inhabitants have become rich in the serv-
ice of the lord and they have followed his example from afar by
building houses adorned with towers.

*631 While the domains increase, other residences also are seen to
*634 rise around the house of the chief. They are those of his brothers
and relatives who have participated with him in the conquest of
661 the tribes for some years. Tagontaft, Talat n Yaqoub in the Asif
602 Nefis, Bou Taradin in the small state of Mokhtar Seksawi, Boua-
boud of the Mtougga, the little basin of Telwet uniformly present
to us the same spectacle of the colonization of the best lands by
the chief's relatives, who also have become beneficiaries of the
corvées and lenders of money to the poor people.

*631 Finally, under the protection of the casbah, a small mellah
*634 /ghetto/ is established; Jews facilitate trade and conclude with
43 the Mussulmans /347/ all the bargains that the kaid could not
negotiate directly without blushing. By control of the important
443 souks /sooks/ at the foot of the mountains, the creation of large
563 annual fairs, such as the "mousem of Taouloukoult" of the
[543] Mtougga, the economic life itself is governed by the mountain
[655] chief, who takes possession little by little of all the country's
resources to the point that he will soon come to rent out the mo-
nopoly of the sale of commodities to friends or Jewish associates.

/349 cont./

*631 The Glawa's taking possession of the large confederation of
*634 the Aït Waouzgit will make it clearly understood under what con-
721 ditions /350/ such a conquest is realized and how they proceed in the exploitation of the country.

175 At the time when Si el Madani Glawi began his political action among the Aït Waouzgit about 1890, the ancient institu-
*631 tions were still very much alive in part of the confederation.
*634 About ten cantons of the summits of the Sirwa and of the Azilal
•616 had preserved their Aït arbaᶜin and their small senates. In the
178 valleys were found amghars, masters of a single canton, but who, by means of the institution of the leffs, extended their authority over some nearby groups; such were the chiefs of the cantons of the Aït Tigdi Ouchen at Tafounan, those of the Zenaga at Ighil n Ogho, of Taliwin in the Zagmouzen, of Tazoult in the tribe of the Souktana, of Dou Taourirt among the Aït Semmeg, of Tamjerjt among the Aït ou Hamden; finally, of Takhorbant among the Aït Wartassa of the Azilal. Moreover, more important chiefs had conquered small commands most often formed, as we have seen, of cantons of the two leffs. These were the amghars of the Aït Tadrart to the southwest of the Sirwa and, closer to the Atlas, the amghars of Tamedakht and Tifoultout among the Aït Zineb.

The working of the leffs seems to us to be noticeably disturbed from this period on among the Aït Waouzgit by the ambitions of the amghars. In the Azilal, "combat leffs," "imqan n mokahelt," are constituted according to the circumstances. As has already been said, we no longer get to re-establish a rigorous correspondence
[578] between the alliances of the cantons of the Atlas and those of the Tifout; contradictions also appear to the south of the Sirwa at the junction of the "Inemzel-Aït Iraten" leffs with those of the "Isouktan" and "Igezzoulen" of the Anti-Atlas. This state of division favors the intrigues of the Glawa.

175 Four wars of conquest are necessary for the chiefs of Telwet to
*631 manage to reduce the large confederation. At the beginning, about
*634 1890, the whole country resists, without distinction as to leff, the
616 penetration of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the alliance of the
726 "Inemzel," the party of the Glawa, comes to detach from the
[669]

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
•616 the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 1906
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the
amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in win-
ning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït
Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the
coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the
heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the
violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel,"
*631 traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*634 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
616 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
726 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to
dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to
break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses
of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear: they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaᶜan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaᶜin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaᶜin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
727
712

/352 cont./

*631 XIII. The progressive penetration (the Demsira). -- In the
*634 mountainous regions of the Atlas, the policy of the great chiefs is
178 often different: they attain their ends without undertaking a true
conquest, by means of the Berbère /Berber/ alliances and thanks to the ambition of the sheiks and amghars.

The patient subjugation of the Demsira by the kaids of Bouaboud perhaps offers us the most complete example that we might find of a formerly independent tribe that evolves little by little, thanks to clever political pressure, toward complete submission; the lower part of the territory, in the vicinity of the Mtougga, is already tending to become a colony of exploitation, while that of the high mountains has still kept its ancient institutions almost intact (1).

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1. From the notes of F. de La Chapelle.

175 /353/ The 13 cantons that form the tribe of the Demsira ex-
*634 tend between the trail of the Tizi Maᶜcho and the mountains of the
619 Seksawa and of the Ida Ou Mhamoud. At the beginning of the
nineteenth century, as in all the western Atlas, each Berbère /Ber-
[616] ber/ canton in this region still has its particular traditions, its democratic or oligarchic constitution; the two leffs of the "Indghertit" and "Imsifern" balance in their ensemble and contribute toward ensuring the autonomy of the small mountain states. One scarcely sees then between Imi n Tanout and the Bibaoun, on the "route of the Makhzen," marked out by large casbahs of the sultans in ruins today, minor sheiks without authority who divide the meager profits of power with the councils of notables, in the manner of the minor amghars of the Nefis and of the Glawa in the same period.

175 The progress of the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/
*631 brought the Demsira acquaintance with numerous kaids starting
*634 from 1850. Almost all were foreign masters preoccupied with
rapidly amassing money in the most easily taxable cantons on the
619 border of the great route of penetration of the Atlas and who neglect the countries of the high mountains. Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi,

175 /354 cont./
*631 open the walls of the fortress of Agzal. But at that moment an
*634 alliance concluded between the Mtouggi, Agzal, and Mokhtar
726 Seksawi enabled the amghar of the Aït Daoud to triumph over his
enemies.

175 In his restored casbah, Agzal strengthens his power and be-
*631 comes the uncontested chief of the "Indghertit," whose forces he
*634 puts, to the extent of his influence, in the service of the Mtouggi.
•616 He confiscates the goods of his enemies, renders justice, levies
taxes, which the council of notables collects as its only mission;
nobody disregards his orders. The minor sheiks of the nearby
cantons take his instructions, and he even obtains the direct com-
mand of certain groups of the adverse leff, such as Taskemt. At
the other extremity of the tribe, the Mtougga allow to become im-
[726] portant another amghar of the leff of the "Imsifern," who completes
the taming of the mountain republics too distant from the sheik
Agzal and whom their ancient alliances turn toward another party.

175 The command of the amghars is thus substituted for the
*631 onerous domination of the kaid, which the mokhaznis make odious.
Doubtless the populations are no less imposed upon; the kaid's
*634 oumana are present when the sheiks collect the "zekkat" and the
651 "ʿachour," which the Mtouggi awaits with impatience at Boua-
178 boud; but at least, if the country is impoverished, it is its own
chiefs who fix the tax, and they take some care not to ruin to no
advantage a piece of land from which they get their living.
Nevertheless, the progress of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is such in
[616] these fractions that the councils of notables /355/ have disap-
peared and even the recollection of the leffs is rapidly being
effaced.

178 The "taqbilt" far from the trail have kept more individuality
*634 and have put up some resistance. In particular, the Aït Mhand ou
616 Mousa of the "Imsifern" leff tried to reject the domination of
Bouaboud for several years. Aided in this struggle by the amghar
726 Mokhtar Seksawi, their leff brother, they succumbed to the com-
*631 bined action of the "Indghertit" assembled by the amghar Agzal
and other "Indghertit" from the mountains, bribed by the Mtouggi:
Aït Haddiyous, Ida ou Izimmer, Idma, Tamarout, Igountar. This

*631 /355 cont./
*634 obstinate resistance at least procured for the Aït Mhand ou Mousa
178 the preserving of their Aït Arbaᶜin and their moqaddems, accept-
616 ing only a liaison agent who plays the role of amghar.

726 The Tamarout fraction lost all its own institutions and has become similar, thanks to the action of the sheik Agzal, to its neighbors of the trail of the Makhzen /makhzan/. The Aït Breher, Aït Chaᶜib and Aït Tilet of the "Imsifern" leff resisted better. The first two of these "taqbilt" united closely to fight against the Mtougga's attempts at penetration. They restored the organization of moqaddems with more vigor than in the past. The
[671) customary law alone is applied in their territory, to the exclusion of the religious law; the moqaddems are changed regularly, and choosing them from overly powerful families is avoided for fear of seeing appear amghars whose first concern would be to favor the policy of the kaids. The Aït Chaᶜib showed themselves to be the indomitable adversaries of the caliphates of the Mtouggi for an especially long time and consented to submit only on the express condition of preserving a preferential regime. They pay Bouaboud only the ᶜachour and some "frida." The Aït Tilet, the most distant, have remained apart up to now, and the amghar of the Aït Haddiyous, Ahmed ou Moulid, counts them among the independent "taqbilt" of the summits, whose destinies he tries to guide.

*631 XIV. The zones of influence (the Seksawa). -- The Mtouggi's
*634 clever policy in the penetration of the Demsira is completed in the high mountains, as we have seen several times, by alliances that he concluded with the amghars of the Seksawa. In that region, where up to these recent years the intrigues coming out of the casbahs of Bouaboud and Tagontaft have crossed, one perceives more /356/ easily at present how the amghars most often prepare, without knowing it, the establishment of the domination of the great chiefs.

[178] The appearance of "despotic power" at the end of the nine-
[642] teenth century in the region remaining faithful on the whole to
[175] the regime of moqaddems and assemblies is not explained solely
[669) by the normal workings of oligarchic institutions; the frequency of

/356 cont./

*631 *634 178 /footnote 1 continued/ moqaddems. The kaids of Talemt, of the leff of the "Ida Ou Zeddagh," facilitated the establishment of amghars among the Aït Waggounsan and the Ida ou Kwais.

[726] In order to dominate the independent amghars more surely, the kaid sets them against one another and undertakes their division by secret agents. If it is necessary, he even sends them arms with which to fight one another, and he avoids letting them grow in importance. By a natural reaction against the hidden endeavor of the kaid, each minor chief tries somehow /357/ or other to set up for himself a command and a zone of influence in which he reserves for himself exclusive guidance of external policy. At the same time he passes himself off to the people as the last rampart of liberty and thus ensures new prestige for himself with the inflas of the last backward cantons with the old constitutions, who come to his house to get his advice; by these indirect processes all the mountains thus become entangled, without knowing it or wanting it, in the complicated politics and intrigues of the great kaids.

178 •616 *634 XV. Consequences of the conquests for the institution of the leffs. -- It is easy to understand how much the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs, which served the amghars so well in their beginnings, is henceforth disturbed. The overturnings of alliances that we have already observed (1) multiply; the minor chiefs pass from one side to the other with the warriors of the cantons that they dominate; even within their command the ancient leffs are confused.

178 616 It would nevertheless be inaccurate to hold that the ancient notion of the leff has entirely disappeared from the very minds of the Berbère /Berber/ chiefs. On the contrary, they continue it in

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1. Cf. above, p. 398.

/357 cont./
178 an ideal manner and extend it to all their discords, starting from
*616 the principle that the enemies of their enemies are their friends.
Thus, the Gontafi still considers himself a chief of the "Imsifern" and bound by ancient pacts to the Igezzoulen of the Sous and of the Anti-Atlas. The Mtouggi and the Glawi, his adversaries, are therefore for him "Indghertit" and "Isouktan." Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, the enemy of the Mtougga, in the middle of the last century, was ranked by the chiefs of Tagontaft in the alliance of the "Imsifern," as well as the family of the Anflous of the Neknafa. Likewise among the Ergita, the Ida Ou Zal, and the Ida Ou Ziki, in which the memory of the leffs is completely lost, even by the oldest old men, the minor chiefs who contend for power rank themselves among the "Ida Ou Zeddagh" or the "Aït Zolit," whose alliance they reconstitute in their minds in their own way, according to the necessities of their politics.

Finally, in the definitively subjugated regions where the
[578] former division of the leffs has forever been effaced, certain rivalries
*[634] between /358/ the cantons or the villages perpetuate the
*[631] struggles of the past. The commands of the minor sheiks named
by the Makhzen /makhzan/ must sometimes be fixed by taking
[648] into account these traditional oppositions.

It is by the persistence of local dissensions that the old institution of the Berbère /Berber/ leffs continues to manifest itself, while the political traditions of old have disappeared forever.

XVI. Does a "Berbère /Berber/ feudality" exist? -- On the
*631 whole, the organization of the personal power of the great chiefs
*634 of the mountains did not furnish us, as one could have judged by this study, any original feature that might have permitted differentiating it in a precise manner from the "despotic" authority of the amghars who came out of the tribes. The lords of the Atlas
*631 really are only former "inflas" who have progressively become absolute masters of a village, canton, tribe, or region, and who
178 preserve for a time during their rapid rise the memory of the venerable principles on which Berbère /Berber/ society rests; but their ambition, henceforth unbridled, then leads them to deviate or to change the institutions that aided their growth; finally, they

/361 cont./

*631 fixed by the nature of the republican institutions of the mountains.
*634 In these circumstances, one would hardly imagine that ties of
174 vassalage could appear among the chiefs, and much less that
171 feudal tribunals where the accused would be judged before his
peers would be constituted.

It is possible to point still further to the differences that separate our Middle Ages from the regime of the great kaids by referring, no longer to the negative characteristics of the barbarism of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, but to the aspects that are peculiar to it. One of them has already been indicated often in these
pages. The elevation of the amghars to the rank of great kaids
[571] marks successively, as we have seen, the domination of one soff
• [616] over the others, that of one leff over the adverse leff, of one tribe
[619] over the tribes and the confederations of the vicinity; in his progressive accession to fortune the Berbère /Berber/ chief carries along his companions from his village, leff, tribe, according to one and another of the different situations depending on origin and services rendered; doubtless that is the most original feature of the organization of personal power in this country, the one which would be sought in vain in Western feudality, born, on the contrary, on a soil that had formerly known the domination of Rome, where the tribes had disappeared to make way for the cities.

*631 It is no less important to call attention to another peculiarity
of this domination of the amghars, which is related to the char-
*634 acteristic of violence of their power at its origins; none of them,
578 chief of canton, of tribe, or of region, succeeded in winning it
726 before having defeated, and often killed, a rival with a strength
175 almost equal to his and whose possessions he confiscated. Thus
the kaids of the Mtougga met as adversaries, about 1850, the amghars of the Ida Ou Merzoug; the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had as an enemy the amghar Achefar of Tagemout; the family of the kaids of the Glawa at the height of their power had to defeat the minor amghar of Taghennoust about 1860; later these amghars, who had become tribal chiefs, met the amghar ᶜAli of Tamedakht, who limited their expansion toward the south

/378 cont./

648 modest fines, the "azzainnigran" (3).

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177 3. One can thus compare the south of the Haha, little affected by the Makhzen penetration, whose tribes are divided into "khoms," veritable political units, and the north of the same country, whose khoms are no more than divisions established in view of the tax (cf. above, Book II, Ch. II, p. 199) and Doutté, "Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," Bulletin de l'Afrique française, 1905, rens. coloniaux /colonial information/, p. 11.

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• [616]

In the whole of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ it is thus possible to follow the progressive decline of the ancient social units, all the more apparent in proportion as the operation of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is intensified. The establishment of the new fractioning contributes toward effacing the division into leffs, diminishes the authority of most of the sheiks, who have become mere agents for the transmission of orders in /379/ the hands of the kaid; finally, the councils of notables and the "jema^{c}a" play a role incessantly more effaced in the administration of the country and give way to the kaid.

648 VI. A great kaid in the service of the Makhzen. -- Such are the principal aspects of the policy and organization of the Makhzen /makhzan/ in its relations with the Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the South of Morocco. A heavy machine that crushes the country and gets rid of the last traditions that the autochthonous chiefs had respected, erases the boundaries of the cantons, the memory of ancient alliances, and soon leaves no more confronting the sultan than an anonymous crowd of subjects whose sole role is to pay the tax.

/379 cont./

648 Nevertheless, it sometimes happens under the sultan's domination
*631 that one sees personal power reconstituted, that a clever
177 and enterprising kaid, putting his ambitions at the service of the
Makhzen, succeeds in obtaining a large command in Berbère
178 /Berber/ country, so that he appears to us, at a distance, with
the same features as the semi-independent chiefs of the mountains.
But if one wishes to examine carefully the conditions
under which his power was developed and exercised, one perceives
how much the forces on which he depends have changed;
less solidly built on the base of a canton or tribe, less well supported
by leff alliances, without a durable foundation in the
country, his power remains precarious and rests above all on the
confidence and support of the sovereign. If the latter withdraws
his favor, the great makhzen kaid disappears into the void.

175 The example of the career of El Hajj ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi, a
159 great chief who in the middle of the last century, in the country
of the Haha, had a prestige comparable to the lords of the Glawa,
*631 will suffice to make us understand how much the power of such a
648 kaid is contrary, by numerous traits, to that of the masters of the
[554] mountain tribes.

ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi appears about 1844. His family has been in the service of the Makhzen for 60 years; already settled at Mogador, it commands from afar the country of the Haha under the supervision of the governor of the town. Abdallah himself is the son of a black slave, and tradition relates the strange fact that his mother was given pregnant to the kaid of the Haha by Sultan Moulay Sliman, which leaves hovering over his true origins a complete mystery, which legend has seized.

175 /380/ After difficult beginnings and discords with the minor
159 kaid of the Mtougga, whom the sultan has thrown into prison,
*631 ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi undertakes to subjugate the tribes of his command
648 in revolt since the bombardment of Mogador by the French
619 fleet and cursed by Moulay ᶜAbd er Rahman. At this period in the
[669] country of the Haha one no longer finds stable leffs constituted by
[178] traditional alliances, in the manner of those of the Nefis or of the
[616] country of the Glawa, but only fragile associations of "khoms" or

175 /380 cont./
159 tribes, established according to the necessities of the moment.
*63 Moreover they are especially alliances of notables. It is thus that
648 the kaid of the Mtougga maintains with the Ida Ou Bouzia and the
619 Ida Ou Gelloul relations that serve him in checking ᶜAbdallah Ou
[178] Bihi.

•[616] The territory of the confederation is then divided into two
parts, which the course of the Asif of the Igezzoulen separates.
To the north of this boundary are found the tribes most used to
the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ and subject to sheiks;
to the south, more independent units, still sometimes guided by
councils of notables and always ready to unite in revolt with their
mountain neighbors remaining free, the Ida Ou Tanan.

In ten years ᶜAbdallah Ou Bihi wins his territory. He establishes
[712] himself first of all at the Azaghar of the Aït Zelten, old center of
the Makhzen /makhzan/, where the lands have belonged to the
sultan since that time, and builds a casbah there. It does not
have the warlike air of the "agadirs" of the chiefs of Tagontaft or
of Telwet. It is a large square enclosure with walls of stones and
pisé, defended by borjs /towers/, like all the casbahs of the
[342] Makhzen built in the plains. Inside, he first of all builds his
house, rather modest, formed by a square enclosure, adorned by
[343] two corner towers; next, some stables intended for the numerous
horses of the horsemen whom he keeps in his service, finally some
storehouses where the tribes will come to pay the tithe.

Little by little he succeeds in crossing the boundary of the Asif of the Igezzoulen, defeats, imprisons the rebels, and reaches the frontier of the Ida Ou Tanan. Thus master of the whole confederation, he assembles its forces to conquer the plains of the South, to station a garrison on the Dir of the Anti-Atlas, and to collect the taxes in the name of the sultan. All the Haha thus profit, as they did recently in the time of Aghennaj (1), by this domination. Spread in the /381/ interior plain of the Sous,

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(1) Cf. above, Book I, Ch. IV, pp. 139-140.

/387 cont./
178 of Aït Arbaᶜin and enact a scale of fines, but they are no longer
669 capable of designating a president; on the Dir or in the plains it
is the sheiks themselves who make up the tribal council, each
*631 canton having lost the recollection of its political personality;
*634 they are content to put the sedition-mongers in a hole, without
restoring the regulation that punishes each offense with a specific
fine; their concern moreover is to keep the common people away,
and they dream above all of the ways that will permit them to
obtain the kaid's place by intrigue as soon as the revolt has ended.
It sometimes happens that the makhzen chief has governed his
tribe with moderation, and no serious reason for expulsion is
raised against him; then a place in the council is left for him, but
only in the capacity of notable: "You will be our anflous porte-bonheur," they said, at the time of the siba of Sidi Mohammed,
to the old kaid of the Mzouda, whom they did not want to drive
out of his house. The popular movement, which won over the
whole country during the "siba," took on such force that the Berbère /Berber/ mind had to be given this satisfaction of principle
in order to succeed in keeping a beloved leader (1).

[113] 1. Cf. our study on "Le Régime juridique du Sud-Marocain /The Juridical Regime of the Moroccan South/," Hespéris, 1924, p. 323.

*631 Cantons and tribes left to themselves, incapable of re-establishing
*634 in all their strength the institutions that they abandoned
long ago, soon fall into frightful anarchy. The enthusiasm of the
648 first days is succeeded by the weariness of disorder in proportion
669 as the struggles of soffs, the combats of cantons that unite again
178 to form war alliances analogous /388/ to the leffs of old, are repeated.
[616] Then the Sultan takes back his authority, the kaids reappear
in the plains, harkas are formed to re-establish the
banished chiefs in their command on the Dir; little by little
people lose confidence in the tribe; the Aït Arbaᶜin are abandoned
and betrayed; the Makhzen puts them in prison; and without too
much regret the Berbères /Berbers/ again assume the heavy collar

/390 cont./

*631 Just as the sultan is in the hands of Allah, the kaids are the slaves
648 of the sovereign, and the subjects the humble servants of the kaids.
177 Moreover, there can exist in the Empire only one single State,
only a single Islamic community, of which the sherif is the
178 leader. The independent mountain republics are for the Makhzen
*634 only errors of corrupt men, creations that by strict right cannot
claim any law: nothingness engendered by ignorance.

Equally bent on destroying Berbérie /Barbary/, the temporal
power of the chiefs and the divine right of the sultans are able to
join and unite. Often, as we have said, it is the amghar, master
• [616] of a leff established at the foot of the Dir, who enters the service
[619] of the Makhzen /makhzan/ of the plain; /391/ at other times it
is a tribal chief in the mountains who receives the title of kaid;
the lords of the Atlas themselves, whose conquests are made in
the name of the sultan, govern according to the traditional principles of the sherifian State to the point where in our day it is into the parts of their territories remaining free of our control that one must go to observe the anachronism of the last tribes living under the regime of the Makhzen of former times.

Sometimes, it is true, these two powers of domination come
to fight each other for a time, as we have seen in the country of
the amghar of Tagontaft in the valley of the Nefis, but it is in
order to unite better afterwards their wishes for exploitation and
their desires for conquest. The goal, often unconscious, of the
[642] efforts of the chiefs and of the sultan is to achieve on the ruins of
[185] the Berbère /Berber/ cantons the founding of an absolute Empire,
without internal frontiers, subject to a single law and one that
condemns the subjects to submit to a ruinous and pitiless tyranny.

It is difficult, when one measures the futility of the results obtained by the Makhzen and the amghars during ten centuries of fighting, to escape from a feeling of pity with regard to these people reduced to a servitude without ideals, in misery without hope, and who no longer look for any remedy for their ills other than an impotent and fleeting return to the anarchy of old. /Page 392 is blank./

/395 cont./

105 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions
*631 under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our
time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice
for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the
various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little
*631 republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances,
*634 make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of
the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long
● 616 game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is
going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the
Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is
realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the
*634 "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several
578 ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength
613 merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and
confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and
replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single
one.

105 In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this
*634 "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is
182 thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal
619 force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances
726 concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily
manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to
subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating
[616] the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt"
under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of
origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe
by a canton.

105 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then
*634 sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has
619 raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master,
*631 extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to
726

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
*631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the
*634 independent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional
182 government of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself
• [616] profoundly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
*631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
*634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian
182 Makhzen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ᶜAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi
and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive
dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters
of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/
taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period,
*634 on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for
lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings
of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
182 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*634 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of
*631 the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in progressively
182 subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*634 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
*631 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of immense
• 616 territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever
571 may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep
the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village
from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated
populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from
the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth
in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered
country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted
thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
•616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the
original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

/404 cont./

121 171 *631 554 182 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 171 *631 554 182 578 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory, as do all the companions from their village associated with the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] •[616] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

/405 cont./
121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
•616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.

*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The leff
spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
*631 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this coun-
182 try that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that
powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the
king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of
surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to
rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
171 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
*631 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
182 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the
house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of
578 the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give
signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victori-
ous amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to pre-
serve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will
come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both
family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising
again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In
half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken
back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the
anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect
[648] the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his
descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

1936, pp. 50-51; Westermarck, 1926, Vol. 1, pp. 564-567). 628
Among the transhumants *tagma* and *tada* alliances are employed 571
first and foremost to control and regularize occupancy of pasturelands 171
– a function particularly important in those regions, such as the Middle Atlas, where each area, upon becoming vacated by the departure of one group, is immediately reoccupied by one coming up from the rear. In such a situation, the existence of the alliance enables the councils of the allied groups to designate lands of common pasturage, in which members of the two groups may graze their sheep successively or together. Only under such circumstances does grazing take place freely and without molestation. In fact, good relations between two groups occupying the same territory is inconceivable without the existence of a *tada* alliance, for this alliance not only opens the way for common use of the land, but also prohibits theft, adultery, or other injury (Bruno and Bousquet, 1946, pp. 366-368).

Leff alliances differ from *tada* alliances in involving many more 571
groups and covering much larger areas; furthermore they characteristically 628
involve the alignment of politically independent districts 616
or tribes into two balanced and opposed units known as *leff* (pl. 634
lfuf) in Arabic, as *ameqqon* (pl. *imeqqon*) in Tashilhait, and as 635
tafergant in Tamazight. These units characteristically form a checkerboard or mosaic structure which may cut boldly across both tribal and confederation boundaries, allying, for example, districts of one tribe with districts in another and putting them into opposition with districts within their own tribe (see Fig. 7); they thus present a pattern in which each district or tribe is usually bordered by some of the same and some of the opposite *leff* unit. In areas where the *leff* structure was still strong in the pre-Protectorate period, such as among the Shluh and Beraber, and in the western Jebala, the *leff* units seem to have functioned primarily to provide
mutual assistance in defensive war. Among the Shluh and the [171]
Riffians the units were characteristically permanent – dividing the population into traditional moieties; among the Beraber realignments were more common; among the Arabic-speakers the *leff* structures were characteristically unstable, and also demonstrated disintegration resulting from the natural antagonism of the *Makh-*

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 107]

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

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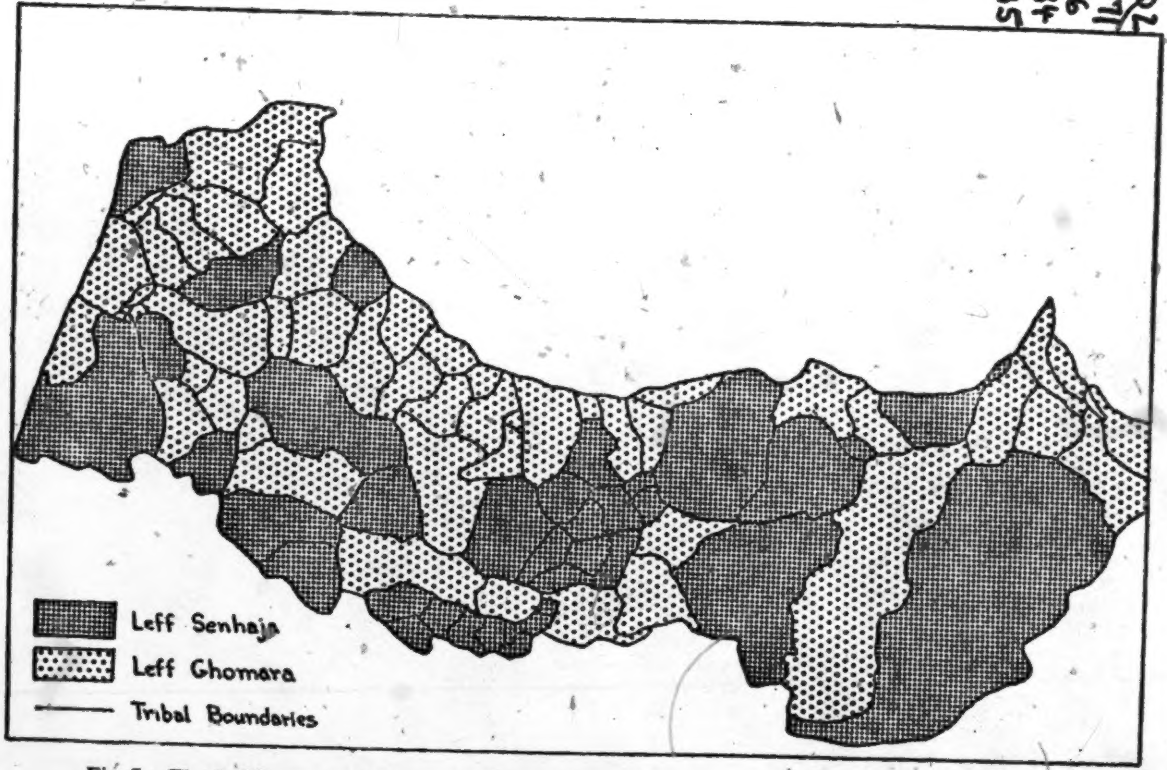

▨ Leff Senhaja
░ Leff Ghomara
— Tribal Boundaries

Fig. 7. The *Leff* Structure of Northern Morocco, Redrawn from Montagne (1930, map opp. p. 208).

zen to such a competitive political system (Adams, 1953, p. 33; 571
Coon, 1931, pp. 105-108; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 306-307; Doutté, 628
1905; Montagne, 1930, pp. 182-216; Murdock, 1956, pp. 142-143; 616
Spillmann, 1936, pp. 49-52; see also Berque, 1955, pp. 424-439, for 634
a critique of the *leff* theory). 635

Just as the *tada* alliance between extended groups represents an [171]
extension of the *tagmat* or "brotherhood" alliance between individuals and families, so the *leff* alliance represents a still further extension of fictional brotherhood between extended groups. This [171]
is clearly illustrated among the Ait Atta (465-491), where the pact of *tafergant* ("interdiction"), renewed annually, is marked by a "ceremony of milk" symbolizing the fiction of a common mother, and involves a prohibition upon the men to marry, or even to "look" upon, the women of the opposite group. Among the Shluh the *leff* alliance is renewed or revitalized annually by great festivals and "rounds of hospitality" (*tinoubga*), in which the ties of brotherhood between the *leff* members are reemphasized, and in the course of which many private associations, family alliances, and marriages are also contracted (Berque, 1955, pp. 425-426; Montagne, 1930, pp. 187-191; Spillmann, 1936, pp. 50-51).

Among the Shluh of the High Atlas and Anti-Atlas the political importance of the *leff* units was very great in pre-Protectorate times, the balance of power between the two divisions usually acting as a strong restraint against agressive action. If a Shluh district was, [726]
in fact, attacked by another, the defenders despatched messengers [202]
to the border of their *leff* allies to fire gunshot signals, a few hours after which the forces of the victimized *leff* began to pour across the border to give battle to the aggressor. In such a case the *leff* allies of the aggressor generally did not also intervene, but if they did, as frequently happened in the Tiznit area, the outcome was a general war throughout the area of the *leff* structure (Montagne, 1930, pp. 187, 202-203).

c. *Intervention*

Although but a single *leff* structure existed in northern Morocco 616
during the early 20th century, the importance of this system varied 171
greatly within this region, being strongest in the western Jebala and

616 171 in the area around the mouth of the Moulouya, and weakest in the central Rif. In the area of the Beni Uriaguel (99), in fact, the *leff* structure was already at this time of only historical interest and expressed itself only as a mild antipathy towards the opposing group. The primary function of the *leff* as it is known in the southern areas, that of defense against aggressors, is here handled by simple intervention – a point completely missed by Murdock (1956, p. 143) in his discussion of Riffian *lfuf*. The interveners assume this role largely on the basis of their proximity to the area of disturbance, without regard to their *leff* affiliation (as can be seen by comparing Coon's list of interveners with the *leff* structure as given by Montagne and shown in fig. 7); their motivation to take such action springing as much from a desire to secure a share of the fine imposed upon the errant group as from a desire to restrict the conflict and maintain the peace.

000

> ... If a lively internal war has broken out in the tibe as a result of the refusal to pay a fine imposed by the tribal council, or through a series of reciprocal murders and resultant alliances, made before the tribal council could intervene, the surrounding tribes call together their tribal councils which go to the territory of the warring tribe and meet as a great council of tribes in the middle of it, in a village or in the open country. They summon the tribal council of the warring tribe to answer for its action. If the tribal council comes, the assembled tribal council (the great council of tribes) assess a fine of from two to three thousand dollars, which they divide, giving each tribe with five *fifths* [districts] five parts, and each tribe with only one *fifth* one part. Then the subdivisions within the *fifths* and single tribes take place [sic] and the councillors go home.
>
> If, however, the tribal council of the fighting tribe refuses to come and pay a fine, the tribe patches up its differences quickly and presents an united front against the invaders. In this case the councillors of the other tribes send home for retainers, each *fifth* separately, specifying the number of men to come from each *fifth*, from each *canton* [commune], and from each *bone* [minor lineage]. The old men, retired councillors, select the warriors and their judgment is final. The reinforcements come as soon as possible and there ensues a war between the erstwhile internally warring tribe and those which have come to punish it. If the alliance wins, it does so by defeating *canton* after *canton*, imposing a fine upon each when it submits; the fine levied on the first *canton* is about five thousand dollars, and the amount increases until the last *canton* has to pay about fifteen thousand dollars. As each *canton* submits it must join the victors in fighting the rest of its own tribe, in return for which it receives